

HANDBOOK TO THE
CONTROVERSY
WITH ROME

KARL VON HASE

LINCOLN BIBLE INSTITUTE

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Handbook
to
The Controversy with Rome

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Handbook
to
The Controversy with Rome

BY
KARL VON HASE

TRANSLATED FROM THE SEVENTH EDITION OF THE 'HANDBUCH
DER PROTESTANTISCHEN POLEMIK GEGEN DIE
ROMISCH-KATHOLISCHE KIRCHE'

AND
EDITED WITH NOTES

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IN TWO VOLUMES
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENT	vii ^t
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE	vii
PREFACE TO THE FIRST (GERMAN) EDITION	(1862) ix
" " " SECOND " "	(1864) xxxiii
" " " THIRD " "	(abridged) 1870 1
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" " " FIFTH " "	1890 lx

BOOK I THE CHURCH

Chapter I.

CATHOLICISM	3
A. Unity	19
B. Infallibility	27
C. The Sole Means of Salvation	74

Chapter II.

TRADITION AND HOLY SCRIPTURE	108
--	-----

Chapter III.

THE CLERGY	153
A. The Priesthood	153
B. The Episcopate	162
C. Celibacy	174

Chapter IV.

THE PAPACY	196
A. The Universal Bishop	196
B. The Infallible Bishop	251
C. The Pope-King	329

14320

NOTE TO NEW EDITION

THE Analysis of the Argument prefixed to this Edition has been prepared by Mr. W. Grinton Berry, M.A. and approved by the Translator.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENT

BOOK I

THE CHURCH

	PAGE
Chapter I. Catholicism	3-107
No formal definition of 'the Church' put forth by Romanists until 1566, when the Reformation movement was in full operation	4
What that definition was, 'one and undivided, universal, apostolic, holy, infallible, the only way of salvation, with the Pope as visible head'	4
Depravity of Rome the immediate cause of the Reformation	5
First Reformers did not contemplate secession	5
Luther's conception of 'the Church', the distinction between the <i>actual</i> historical Church and the ideal Church	7
Luther's views on the Churchmanship of Rome	8
Protestant and Roman views of 'the Church' contrasted	10-16
The essential antagonism of principle: Catholicism makes the relation of the individual to Christ depend upon his relation to the Church, Protestantism makes the relation of the individual to the Church depend upon his relation to Christ	17
Catholicism demands unconditional obedience, Protestantism claims individual liberty	17
The Church of Rome benefited morally by the Reformation	18
The Council of Trent (1545-1563) made the quarrel between Rome and Protestantism irreconcilable	18
A. Unity	19-27
The Church of the Apostles 'congregational'	19
The idea of a visible Catholic Church arose from the adoption of a common summary of the Christian faith	20

The Church one at the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325	20
First great break in external unity was the severance of East from West in the eleventh century, each claiming to be the sole Catholic Church	21
The secession of Protestants the next great break in external unity	22-3
The complete external unity of 'the Church' never has been a fact, but an ideal	24
Mutually hostile parties within the Roman Church itself now and always	24
Clement XIV (1769-1774) dissolved the Jesuit order (1773), while Pius VII (1800-1823) re-established it (1814)	25
Pius IX (1846-1878) termed the minority at the Vatican Council 'rebels and traitors', and they described him as an obstinate narrow-minded old man	26
Rome, by the very principle of her position, is obliged to regard the Eastern and Protestant Churches as deserters and rebels	26
Protestantism, on the other hand, sees in the different Churches the more or less incomplete realization of the ideal Church, she seeks for a unity in spirit, spreading itself out into genuine Catholicity	26-7
B. Infallibility	27-74
The claim of the infallibility of the Church the foundation on which Romanism rests	28
This claim had its origin in the manner of regarding the General Councils, whose authority as time passed augmented gradually to the point of infallibility	29
Gregory the Great (590-604) said of the four General Councils held up to his time: 'I esteem them as I do the four Gospels'	30
Yet as matter of fact General Councils condemned and contradicted each other	32
St. Augustine (354-430) contended that earlier Councils might be corrected by later ones	32-3
The Council of Constantinople (553) condemned two Fathers who had been pronounced orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon (451)	34

CONTENTS

ix^a

The Council of Constance (1414-1418) declared that a General Council was a higher authority than the Pope, and the fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517) declared that the Pope was superior to a Council	34
Arbitrariness in the recognition or non-recognition of Councils as Ecumenical	35
The fallibility of Councils acknowledged by members of the Councils themselves at the time of their assembling	36-7
Council of Trent (1545-1563)	38-40
Paul IV (1555-1559) described the Council of Trent (1545-1563) as 'threescore ignorant bishops'	40
Until the Middle Ages the Councils were as a rule dominated by the Emperor or the Pope, and no <i>Divine</i> respect is to be given to their decisions	41
Some account of the Vatican Council of 1870, which decreed the infallibility of the Pope	42-65
Protestantism denies infallibility to every existing Church and asserts that each believer can in his own Church attain to a saving faith in Christ	65
No proof in Scripture of the Church's infallibility	66-9
The 'presumed necessity' of an infallible Church	69-70
Many persons remain in the Roman Catholic Church who do not believe in her infallibility	71-3
The claim to possess absolute authority a source of Rome's power over the natural indolence of many souls	73
Ripeness of intellect combined with a serious interest in religion will make the idea of an infallible Church impossible	74
C. The sole means of salvation	74-107
Romanism, claiming to possess Christian truth completely and exclusively, thus justifies the assertion 'Outside the Church no salvation'	74-77
On this ground the extremest rigours of persecution were justified, as intimidating others from a course which would result in the eternal destruction of their souls	77-9
Protestantism also guilty of persecution	79-80
Protestantism has repented of its crimes	80-1

CONTENTS

Rome, while it has been compelled for the most part to renounce persecution, has not repented her crimes and does not profess to believe in tolerance . . .	81-7
Practical alleviations of the Romanist exclusive claim to salvation	87
Validity of non-Catholic baptism admitted . . .	87
Sins can be forgiven and the divine favour bestowed in heretical communities	87
The varying significance of excommunication . . .	87-9
The distinction made by Romanists between <i>material</i> and <i>formal</i> heretics. The former have grown up in error and may be saved, the latter are persons who have deliberately seceded from 'the Church' and are therefore lost	90-4
A Bishop at his installation swears to persecute heretics as far as it is in his power	94
Religious toleration held to be godless and senseless . . .	94-7
Protestant toleration is not indifferentism	97-8
The old custom of cursing Protestants on the eve of Good Friday	100-1
Examination of the words in which it is claimed that Christ has established the Roman Church as the only way of salvation	102-3
The argument from 'reason'	103-4
Intolerance the logical consequence of the Catholic conception of the Church	104-5
The argument that to be a Romanist is the 'safer' course	106-7
Chapter II. Tradition and Holy Scripture . . .	108-52
The Bible of the primitive Church the Testament of Judaism, i. e. the Old Testament	109
Books constituting the New Testament collected together in the second century	109
Side by side with this was oral tradition from the days of the Apostles	109
A definite formal statement of Christian faith as derived from the Apostles felt to be necessary to combat the Gnostics and other heretics	111
Hence what is now known as the Apostles' creed, used even before the New Testament was collected	111

CONTENTS

xi*

The authority of 'Roman tradition' was challenged, and brought to the test of Scripture, as early as the third century	111
The supreme authority of Holy Scripture acknowledged by Eusebius of Emesa (about 350), Athanasius (d. 373), Augustine (354-430), and others	113-4
The Waldenses in the twelfth and subsequent centuries took their stand upon the Bible	115
Innocent III (1198-1216) declared that Holy Scripture was not for simple, unlearned men	115
Bibles ordered to be given up and burnt	116
The Reformation based its claim primarily upon the Bible	116
Luther (1483-1546) recognized 'historical development' which was not contrary to the Bible	116
Zwingli (d. 1531) and Calvin (1509-1564) took in hand an unqualified return to the Christianity of the Bible	116
The abuses against which the Reformation protested derived their authority from <i>tradition opposed to the Scripture</i> ; hence the Council of Trent (1545-1563), in defence of Romanism, placed tradition on a par with Scripture	117
Interpretation of Scripture declared to be dependent on the unanimous consent of the Fathers and on the judgement of the Church	118
Successive Popes limit the right of reading the Bible	118
The Protestant and Romanist view of tradition: the former regards it as a thing to be examined and tested, the latter accepts it as covered by the infallibility of the Church which preserves it	118-9
The 'unanimous consent' of the Fathers proved by their contradictory views of doctrine to be a fiction	121-5
The view taken by the Church of doctrines or practices received from tradition is that they have floated silently in the air, handed down direct from the Apostles, protected as passing from mouth to mouth by the infallibility of the Church, but that only at the moment of their promulgation has the Church become fully conscious of their existence	126
Has all the apostolic tradition been at length committed to writing?	128

The alleged rule with regard to tradition, when summoned to the support of newly-arisen dogmas, is that it should have been believed everywhere, always, and by all	129
Yet it can by no means be said that the sevenfold number of the Sacraments, Indulgences, Purgatory, the celibacy of the priesthood, auricular confession, the withholding of the Cup—doctrines based upon tradition—have been recognized from ancient times without a break and in all places	129
The 'tradition' of the Holy Spirit	129-32
Protestantism did not break with the whole past of the Church. The pillars and Fathers of the Catholic Church are its forebears	132-7
The Council of Trent (1545-1563) and the Vulgate	137-42
The attitude of Rome to the Bible is—'In the Scripture you have leave only to rediscover the dogma and custom of the Church'	142
The Christianity of the Bible and of Rome very different—this is the explanation of the dread of the Bible in the hands of the laity	144
Auricular confession and masses for the dead, the Popedom, prayers to the saints, the cult of Mary, Indulgences, and Purgatory do not derive their authority from the Bible	144
The Romanist claim is that the authority of the Pope and of the Church is greater than that of Holy Scripture	147
The greatest blessing of Protestantism	149
The Bible in the hands and heart of the people, Roman Catholicism cannot long exist	152
Chapter III. The Clergy	153-95
A. The Priesthood	153-62
According to Catholic doctrine the clergy are the medium of all intercourse between Christ and Christian people	153
How this view arose	154
Not carried out altogether logically	155
Luther (1483-1546) asserts the priesthood of every true believer	156

CONTENTS

xiii^a

The Reformation an uprising of the democratic principle against the aristocratic priesthood	158
Yet 'the spiritual order' (the Christian Ministry) corresponds to the will of God and is of Divine appointment	159
The teaching of Scripture irreconcilable with a priestly order intervening between Christ and His people	161
B. The Episcopate	162-74
No trace in Scripture or in the Apostolic Church of a Bishop in the Romanist sense as the sole source of every spiritual function	162
The testimony of St. Jerome (about 340-420)	164
No trace in the early days of the doctrine of Apostolical succession, as now understood	167
It often happened that Presbyters chose and consecrated a Bishop from among themselves	167
The authority exercised by St. Paul, St. John, St. Peter, St. James, and others due to personal qualities, not to office	168
The Bishop was chosen in the early centuries by the people and clergy of his diocese	169
The claim of the Pope to be alone entitled to grant 'canonical institution to Bishops' the basis of his power	169
The relations of the Episcopate to the Pope and its character since the French Revolution	170
C. Celibacy	174-95
Illogical conduct of the Roman Church in proclaiming marriage to be an act of high sanctity and at the same time forbidding it to the clergy as the sacred order	174
The idea of celibacy a corruption of later Judaism	175
A Bishop must be the husband of one wife	176
Peter, who is alleged to have imposed celibacy on the priesthood, was himself married (Matt. viii. 14)	176
The history of conflicting views on the desirability or otherwise of clerical marriage	176
Pope Gregory VII's (1073-1085) insistence on celibacy	179

The scandalous results of compulsory celibacy	180
The true reason for compulsory celibacy is to secure the absolute and exclusive devotion of the priest to the head of his own order	184
Celibate priests are not better missionaries than married men	185
The cares of wife, children, and household, by enlarging a man's sympathy, increase his usefulness and efficiency as a minister	185
No dignity gained by celibacy	187
The mischief of compulsory celibacy: one who desires to free himself wholly from natural wants easily falls into servitude to them by means of his thoughts	190
Luther's marriage and views on matrimony	194
 Chapter IV. The Papacy	 196-416
A. The Universal Bishop	196-251
Primacy of the Roman pontiff decreed by the Council of Florence in 1439	196
The interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18, 19	198
Addressed to all the faithful	199
No trace in the Apostolic Church of the spiritual dominion of Peter	201
The tradition that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome did not appear until the end of the fourth century	203
No hint in the N. T. of the presence of Peter at Rome	205
Earliest trustworthy information of Peter outside the Scriptures is in a letter of Clement of Rome (died about 100 A.D.), who mentions Peter's martyrdom, but not the place of it	208
The reference in St. Ignatius (martyred A.D. 107) does not support the Romanist claim	208
The testimony of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (in the latter part of the second century), rebutted by the Epistles to the Corinthians	209
The incidental references of Irenaeus (died about 202) and Tertullian (died about 230) proved inaccurate	209-10
Yet by the end of the second century it was the universal belief in Rome that Peter met martyrdom there	210

CONTENTS

xvⁿ

No suggestion up to this time, however, that he was Bishop of Rome	211
Irenaeus (died about 202), Eusebius (about 264-about 349), and Rufinus (about 345-410) name Linus as the first Bishop of Rome	211
Legends of Peter at Rome	214
The Romanist claim proved to be a myth	216
The Papacy established upon a fiction	216
The primacy of the Bishop of Rome an accident re- sulting from the position of Rome as the then mistress of the world	217
Tertullian's alleged recognition of the Pope as 'bishop of bishops' shown to be fallacious	218
St. Cyprian (died 258), so far from supporting the Romanist claims, in whose behalf he is so often cited, insists on the equality of all bishops	219
The claim of Stephanus, Bishop of Rome (254-257), repudiated by the African Church and the Bishops of Asia	220
The old Celtic Church of Britain unacquainted with a primacy of St. Peter and his successors	221
No distinguished personalities among the martyr Bishops of Rome in the first centuries	222
Leo the Great (440-461) the first conspicuous per- sonality among the Bishops of Rome	223
The Council of Nicaea (325 A. D.) placed the Bishop of Rome on a level with the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, the other great cities of the Empire	224
The Ecumenical Councils, from the fourth to the seventh century, neither summoned nor presided over by the Pope	224
The claim of supremacy suggested to the Bishops of Rome by the title of their pagan predecessors, <i>pontifex maximus</i>	225
The title of <i>papa</i> , as also that of 'Vicar of Christ', common to other bishops	225
Gregory the Great (590-604) repudiated for him- self and his predecessors the claim of universal bishop	226
The growth of papal power due to political causes	227
Forgeries and lies the pillar of the mediaeval papacy	228-31

Resistance of England to the spiritual despotism of the Popes	232
The double-headed Papacy	233
The Councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1449) declare the subjection of the Pope to a General Council	234
Innocent III (1198-1216) held this view	235
The opposition of the German bishops to Papal domination	235
The character of the Popes since the Reformation	236-7
The Pope's absolute power in the appointment or recognition of bishops the foundation of his strength	238
Pope helps bishops to keep their priests in subjection	242
Pope is sometimes convenient to a ruler who has to deal with refractory clergy	243
Modern Papacy has done virtually nothing for learning, piety, and reform	244
Christ committed the unity of the Church to His Apostles collectively, not to obedience bestowed upon one of them	245
Severance of the Eastern Church from the West due to monarchical pretensions of the Pope	246
 B. The Infallible Bishop	 251-329
If Pius IX (1846-1878) was infallible, so necessarily were his predecessors	256
Yet Euarestos, fourth Bishop of Rome (probably died about 109), appointed seven deacons to keep watch over the Bishop's preaching in order that the truth might be delivered	257
The testimony of Irenaeus (died about 202) merely regards the Bishops of Rome up to his time as trustworthy upholders of apostolic tradition	258
Tertullian (died about 230) places the Roman Church on a par with the other Churches founded by Apostles	259
Demands of the Bishop of Rome in second and third centuries sternly rejected by other Bishops	259
Council of Chalcedon (451) placed Leo the Great (440-461) on the same level as the patriarch of Constantinople	260

CONTENTS

xvii^a

The formula of Pope Hormisdas (about 518), that by means of the succession to St. Peter religion had been kept unsullied was given as a historical fact, not as a dogmatic necessity	261
St. Augustine (354-430) proclaimed the subjection of the Bishop of Rome to the Council	262
The whole history of the first thousand years of the Church would have been different if there had been in the Bishop of Rome a consciousness, and in the Church even a suspicion, that there flowed from it a well of infallible truth	262
Liberius (352-366) a heretic Pope	262
The four contradictory pronouncements of Pope Vigilius (537-555) regarding the Monophysite heresy	263
Pope Honorius I (625-638) condemned by the sixth, seventh, and eighth Councils as one who with the help of the serpent disseminated heresy	263
This condemnation actually came into the confession of faith, to which every Bishop of Rome down to the eleventh century had to swear	264
Failure of all attempts of Romanists to remove the crushing significance of this fact	264-5
In the Middle Ages the Pope became master of the General Councils, but even Gregory VII (1073-1085) only declared that the Roman <i>Church</i> cannot err	266
Gregory, by reserving to himself the right to amend his predecessors' pronouncements, showed that he did not believe in Papal Infallibility	266
Innocent III (1198-1216) admitted that he could sin against the faith and so become subject to the jurisdiction of the Church	266
Innocent IV (1243-1254) required obedience to the Pope's commands, <i>except in case the command involved a heresy</i>	266
Philip the Fair of France resisted the claim of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) to infallibility	267
John XXII (1316-1334) taxed by the Franciscan order and the University of Paris with heresy and threatened by the King of France with burning	268
The Council of Constance (1414-1418) dispossessed two Popes and established a new one	269

The Council of Basel (1431-1443) maintained its superiority over the Pope, a resolution accepted by Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447)	269
A leading member of the same Council acknowledged the supreme authority of the Bible over Pope and Council alike	270
Another member maintained that one Pope may correct the bad decisions of his predecessor	270
Adrian VI (1522-1523) declared that it was certain the Pope could err, even in matters of faith	271
The claim of papal infallibility first <i>prominently</i> put forward by Jesuits at the Council of Trent (1545-1563)	271
The deplorable character of some of the Popes	272-3
The four propositions of Gallicanism (1682) limiting the Papacy	273
Bossuet (1627-1704) never acknowledged the infallibility of the Pope	274
The conduct of Clement VIII (1592-1605) and Paul V (in 1605) with regard to the Jansenist controversy showed that they were not conscious of infallibility	275
Urban VIII (1623-1644) repudiated <i>the final authority</i> of the decisions of his predecessors	276
In the early part of the nineteenth century it was declared to be a Protestant calumny that Catholics considered the Pope infallible	277
Vatican Council of 1869-1870: a detailed account of its proceedings and of its more immediate consequences	278-329
C. The Pope-King	
A complete summarised account of the origin, rise, diminution, and final loss of the temporal power of the Pope	329-416

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE reader will probably like to know the following facts relating to the writer whose work is here translated.

Karl August von Hase was born at Steinbach, in Saxony, August 25, 1800. He was of great service by way of reconciling orthodox theology with modern thought. Expelled from Erlangen University for political reasons, his life work may be said to have been carried out at the University of Jena, where he was Professor of Theology from 1830 to 1883. He was a prolific writer, publishing among other works the following: System of Doctrine, 1825 (3rd ed. 1841); Compendium of Evangelical Dogmatics, 1826 (6th ed. 1870); The Life of Jesus, 1829, translated by J. F. Clarke, Boston, 1860 (5th ed. 1865); Church History, 1834 (11th ed. 1886); The New Prophets (The Maid of Orleans, Savonarola, and the Anabaptists), 1851; a Life of St. Francis, 1856; a Life of St. Catharine of Siena, 1864; The End of the 'Kulturkampf', 1879; and Lectures on Church History, 1880. He published an autobiography entitled Ideals and Errors, which, however, does not bring us further than 1830. Von Hase died January 3, 1890. He has been called the 'Nestor of modern scientific theology'. The centenary of his birth was celebrated at Jena in 1900.

His Handbook of Controversial Theology, here offered to the English reader, has been fitly called indispensable for a knowledge of the Roman controversy, and a masterpiece of Protestant theology, both in form and contents, unrefuted and irrefutable.

Valuable as the work is as a powerful statement of the case against Rome, it must not be supposed to embody in every particular the views of all in England who are hostile to the Roman claims. For instance, Hase's use of the word Catholic as though equivalent to Roman Catholic (see his attempted defence of this use in the Preface to his first edition, p. xxvi) will appear indefensible not only to members of the Church of England like the present translator, but to a large number of Englishmen who are not in communion with that body, but who feel that to surrender the word Catholic is to give up a very important part of the citadel which they have to defend. His arguments also on such subjects as episcopal succession and the Holy Communion will be far from meeting universal acceptance on the part of those who are at one with him in opposition to distinctively Roman doctrine. Nevertheless it cannot but be of great interest to obtain a first-hand acquaintance, so to speak, with the Protestant theology of Germany as set forth by a writer of such conspicuous ability and profound learning.

A. W. S.

* * Notes (other than Biblical references) which are taken from von Hase (mostly the fourth edition) are indicated thus: [H.]

PREFACE TO THE FIRST (GERMAN) EDITION

ALTHOUGH this book might well have been entitled a *Symbolik* after the example of Möhler's powerful attack upon the Protestant Church, I have given it the correct name, even if it be one of somewhat evil repute, inasmuch as, bearing as it does the character of an incursion into the enemy's country, it sets forth in detail Catholic teaching and practice, dealing with Protestant matters only so far as they are antagonistic to these. Nevertheless it is intended to be a book written in the interests of peace, of ecclesiastical peace, of which our country is in so much need. In open antagonism, in honourable and declared warfare, there is involved also an *eirenicon*, because its one aim is clearly to establish how far people can recognize and frankly approach each other's point of view. Not as though there were any thought of reconciling the antagonism of the Churches. I see no earthly prospect of this, even in the distance. Only I should not be disposed to regard a rejoinder, or certain severe criticisms, which may perchance be called forth by this book, as a marked intensifying of the dispute. But I hope by the power of truth to control the sentiment of triumph, and to repress to some extent the arrogance which from the publication of Möhler's *Symbolik*, accidentally favoured by the general circumstances of the time, fills Catholic literature, and has excited its Church, with the aim of winning once more absolute dominion, to aggressive measures, putting a close to the peaceful policy of 'live and let live' with

its strong and its weak side to which most German countries had been converted in the previous century.

I will not make too much of the incredulity of the Capucine monk who not long since, when preaching in the town church of Botzen, said that although there might be respectable people among the Protestants, he for his part did not believe that there were. But Möhler himself affirmed that the source of the Reformation was a deep perversity which no word could adequately designate. Perrone reckons in addition to the sorts of freedom which Protestantism involves, viz. freedom of investigation, of belief, and of worship, yet a fourth kind, freedom of morals, as though synonymous with freedom of conscience. He gave reasons why the Reformation received wide national acceptance. He said, 'If lust had not blinded their minds, how could they have preferred the absurdities of Protestantism to the Catholic religion? The relation of Protestantism to religion is equivalent to that of the plague to nature. At the bare mention of the word you are bound to shrink back as though a deadly attempt were being made upon your life.' In 1860 we read in the Pastoral of the cardinal bishop of Ferrara: 'If these heretics come to you, ask them first which of their sects is the preferable one? Whether it is the Puseyites or the Evangelicals, the Pietists¹ or the Herrnhuters², or the Quakers³, who

¹ Philipp Jacob Spener, a native of Alsace (b. 1635, d. 1705), was called 'the Father of Pietism'. Accepting Lutheranism, he sought to develop a theology of the heart. The teaching of the Pietists practically did away with a belief in sin as existing in true believers.

² A branch of the Moravians, or spiritual descendants of John Hus. In 1722 a remnant of those repelled from Bohemia and Moravia in 1627 settled at Herrnhut in Saxony, in a village built by them on the estate of Count Zinzendorf.

³ Founded by George Fox (d. 1691). Their central doctrine is 'the

are endowed with the gift of infallibility? Ask them how old their religion is, what martyrs they can enumerate, what nations they have delivered from ignorance and misery? Ask them what atmosphere was diffused round the cradle of their Church, which has to thank for its origin the lusts of a fallen monk and of a royal executioner? Who is there among those that interest themselves in these matters, who has not met with similar and still more scandalous statements in the recent past?

It is a sign of advance and of development that the place of the old theological *Polemik*, whose watchword was 'We alone are right, and all you others are wrong', has been taken by the *Symbolik*, which compares and considers the Confessions of the different Churches as various aspects and expositions of the Christian faith, and it is a victory for higher culture that even Catholic theology has assumed to itself this branch of learning, which naturally had its beginning on Protestant soil. But as in the case of Catholicism it might merely be a name which invested the old *Polemik* with a somewhat prettier garb, so Protestantism in its turn is still compelled provisionally to hold in its hand its good and tried sword, and the attitude of the 'Borghese Gladiator'¹, who, however, is merely a boundary-guard, befits her in any case better than that of the dying Gladiator² on the Capitol. 'I came not,' said our Lord, 'to send peace, but a sword.'³ It is true that the sword is for the attainment inner light' and the Word of God as speaking within the heart. They reject the Sacraments.

¹ A notable antique statue by Agacias of Ephesus, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. It is preserved in the Louvre, Paris.

² Now called by preference the Dying Gaul; a celebrated antique statue of the Pergamene school, in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

³ Matt. x. 34.

of a higher peace. The *Polemik* that is in keeping with the present age must recognize that its business is not to contend for the rights of a party, but only on behalf of the truth, that against this it is powerless, and that excessive combativeness imperils even the truth.

One would expect that such persons as become dubious about Protestantism, and have a leaning to the Catholic Church, or have 'already returned to the arms of the ancient mother Church' with the zeal of proselytes, who make a parade of newly learnt formulæ and still unfamiliar customs, and seek by attacks upon the Church of their fathers and of their youth, to justify themselves in their own sight, and to commend themselves to their new co-religionists—we should expect, I say, that these would part company in the matter of our Protestant *Polemik*. Herr von Florencourt, who previously was a vigorous defender of orthodox Lutheranism, without at that time, according to his own statement, believing in Christ, relates also that for six weeks before his secession at the country seat of a Mecklenburg friend he made a study of Church history and the older Fathers, and thus convinced himself of the absolute wrongness of Protestantism. The Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn¹ admitted that, while a member of the Protestant Church, she had had simply no religion, although she occasionally ruminated whether with her unbounded emotional nature she belonged to the age of Aspasia² or of St. Theresa³. Lacking a definite round of feminine duties, after restless wandering through the labyrinth

¹ See vol. i. p. 187.

² Born at Miletus, Ionia, mistress of Pericles; flourished circ. 440 B.C. Her house was the centre of literary and philosophical society at Athens.

³ A Spanish saint and authoress. She established a reformed Order of Carmelites in 1562, and became famous for her mystic visions: d. 1582.

of life and of undue emotional excitement, she has now discovered in the Roman Church a religion, in a cloister cell—one that is, however, not over firmly closed—peace, and in the traditions of Catholicism a new and almost too weighty subject for her facile pen. She assures us that she compared, placed side by side, the decisions of the Council of Trent with the symbolic works of Protestants, in order that, by thus comparing them, she might perceive the sole claims of the Catholic Church. With all respect for the Acts of Councils as handled by a society lady, and for Church Fathers turned over for six weeks by a journalist, nevertheless for one who on the occasion of so great a crisis in the inner and outer life made truth his serious aim, it might be serviceable to allow our modest book to have its share in his inquiry. If he has mentally surmounted and confuted all its arguments, then let him go whither the spirit leads him.

On first acquaintance we have a prejudice against proselytes, even when they come over *to our side*. Our thought is: 'When he has broken the ties of this kind of obligation, what is there which still remains in his view firm and inviolable?' Nevertheless, if a man has a right, which is to be held worthy of honour, to follow his own convictions and by freedom of action to correct the error in which the accident of birth has involved him, it follows that a secession from one Church to another must also be justified; but not until, after the most serious examination, the moral necessity of this unpalatable step is established. Thus too a Catholic, to whom it has become a dubious matter to pray to the saints, to redeem from Purgatory by payment for masses those that he has loved and lost, to merit heaven by his works, or on whom in some other

way the antagonism between the Christianity of the Bible and that of his Church obtrudes itself and causes uneasiness, may see what this *Polemik* has to say upon the matter. It will incite him to regain what he has already half surrendered in mental conflict, or it will determine him in favour of the opposite course.

But from the nature of the two Churches it results that an inclination towards Catholicism leads the conscientious Protestant actually to secede; for that inclination in its most sincere aspect is a yearning towards obedience and a secure basis of faith under an absolute authority. On the other hand, an inclination to Protestantism leads the Catholic to a mental freedom which has less need of a fixed form; or the man who is in heart at variance with Catholicism is yet subjected by none of the existing Protestant Churches to so definite a force of attraction, that in order to connect himself with that Church he would like to venture upon the painful severance of so many ties which he holds dear. Moreover, among educated people, and where Protestantism, established as of right side by side with Catholicism, has an asylum to offer to every one who is troubled as to his Church, the Catholic Church has learned to exercise tolerance, and to hold sway over thousands who have only not ceased by a definite act to be its members, without demanding from them any sort of ecclesiastical duty, save perhaps when they lie dull and feeble upon their deathbed. Again, the Protestant Church in accordance with its nature has not so great an anxiety with regard to the safety of a soul in connexion with the Church to which it belongs, as to 'compass sea and land to make one proselyte'.¹ Therefore after the great popular

¹ Matt. xxiii. 15.

movements of the sixteenth century Catholicism won more numerous and distinguished converts than the evangelical Church. Those who took refuge in the latter are for the most part only monks and priests who, compelled by their position to act upon their convictions, and thus harassed from without, by their secession bring with them at the same time the sacrifice of their entire status in life.

But as in former days a superficial reading of history accounted for the victories of the Reformation through its having offered to the Princes Church property, to the priests wives, to the people liberty, so it is still a standing reproach that the road to the Protestant Church is broad and easy, like the way to hell, inasmuch as it absolves sensual men from so many troublesome obligations. Even Erasmus said jestingly that his heart was Catholic but his stomach Lutheran. But, if we set aside the celibacy of the priesthood and the indissolubility of marriage, even the hierarchy partly lost, and partly through prudence surrendered, this power to put their system of ecclesiastical laws into operation. A long time has already elapsed since in Poland those who violated the fasts had their teeth knocked out. On the other hand, for the general public, and for easy-going characters, the Roman Church is a very comfortable one; inasmuch as alongside of all its lofty demands it always knows how to come to an understanding with the natural man, and undertakes a presumably secure guarantee for his salvation, conditionally upon his accepting in the lump Church decisions concerning the faith without troubling himself too much over them, and on the understanding that he carries out certain harmless usages, or at least, if life is approaching its end, causes them to be

carried out for him. For the generality of men the burden of *liberty* in the realm of spirit is more difficult to bear than *the converse*, for it is much more convenient to receive without alteration ready-made opinions from the hand of the priest and from a hallowed tradition than to acquire them in the sanctuary of one's own conscience amid anxieties and conflicts. But nowadays a Catholic trait is to be found in many corners of the Protestant Church, and so too a Protestant tendency among whole nations of Catholics¹.

Moreover it is only in their youth that religious principles appear to be rapid in making great conquests. The limits of youth are, we may admit, very ill-defined in the case of what is immortal. Christianity had reached something like the present age of the Protestant Church, reckoning from its external establishment, when it obtained, not it is true its most valuable individual members, but its greatest acquisitions. Meanwhile, as circumstances have shaped themselves historically, it is less likely that existing Protestant Churches will extend their limits by means of numerous accessions—and bad Catholics do not readily become good Protestants—than that out of the Catholic Church itself a new kind of churchmanship will work itself clear, which, by whatever name it may be called, will at any rate have for a permanent characteristic that of a reformed Church, and of one that is Protestant in the sense of protesting against the infallibility of the Pope's Church. German Catholicism, in spite of its insignificant extent and the inconspicuous

¹ *Historisch-politische Blätter*, 1863, part 5, p. 328: 'Unfortunately there are so many Protestants who are less remote from Catholicism than are many Catholics' (Supplement of 1864). [H.]

character of its leaders—a feature which we have never failed to recognize—nevertheless, in the towns where the population was of mixed religion, wrested to itself almost all which the Catholic Church has there won in the course of centuries; yet it was merely the premature birth and the travesty of that which lies in the bosom of the future.

During the last decades Roman Catholicism has been considerably favoured by the political reaction and an orthodox revival within the Protestant Church. The former considered the Church's bowing down before an absolute authority to be the best training to impress subjects with the meaning of silent obedience. The latter, inasmuch as it maintained that decisions in matters of faith, framed centuries before, were an unalterable law, as it conferred validity upon tradition alone, and as it desired again to place all power over the Church in the hands of the clergy, was driven back beyond the date of the Reformation, which at length seemed to them simply as an innovation. Where pious affection for that which was ancestral refused, as was mostly the case, to proceed to this logical consequence, the tendency at any rate showed itself in the shape of a tenderness, wholly foreign to old Lutheranism, for the Pope's Church. From the mouth of these zealous Lutherans we met with expressions of this kind: 'The Catholic Mother Church is half of ourselves, from whom all that we have is derived, our own flesh and blood, though severed from us: to overthrow the Catholic Church is to cut away the bough upon which we are sitting: where a Roman institution falls, there falls a piece of Christianity.' Reaction and Church revival perceived themselves closely bound up with the 'solidarity of conservative

interests', and if they agreed in saying 'The question is reduced to this; is it to be Church or revolution?' this Church had a strong flavour of incense and infallibility. To this chimera held by Puseyism in England and with as yet bashful reserve in Germany, I desired to show in passing what we should find at that end towards which they are advancing; and they will give me but scurvy thanks for it.

Both the reaction and the ecclesiastical revival appear for the moment, and it may be but for a brief moment, arrested in the chief countries of their existence. It might therefore be said that it is ungenerous at this crisis, when sounds actually indicative of the breaking down of the papal seat are said to have been heard, to open a campaign against the Roman Church. But this Church still continues to be a great power. In the sphere of religion we have worse foes, but none more powerful. Moreover it is not long since Jesuit missions went the rounds in German countries to stir up the sentiments which formerly kindled the Thirty Years' War,¹ and under the conditions of religious freedom which we demand, these appearances with their menaces of mischief will still often present themselves. The sword that a book may wield, even though it were much more sharply whetted and more powerfully handled than is the case here, is far from

¹ A religious and political war in central Europe, which involved Germany and other countries. The immediate occasion was the infringement by the Court of Austria of the rights of Bohemian Protestants, who accordingly rose in revolt in 1618. Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden were prominent figures in the war. It was ended by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 (see p. 81). In general the Protestants were strong in northern, and the Roman Catholics strong in southern Germany. Spain was the chief ally of the latter, France, Sweden, and Denmark of the former. The main profits of the war fell to France and Sweden. Germany suffered severely in loss of life, property, and morals.

being able to fell the tree of a thousand years' growth, as did Winfrid¹ Boniface the sacred oak at Geismar; yet even such a tree may have much that is hollow within, like an old willow which carries fertile soil in its cavity, and still each spring produces fresh leaves and branches. The Roman hierarchy needs only to put such a book upon its Index of prohibited works², and it remains untouched by millions, while other millions in any case abstain from reading it, because they simply know no necessity for giving themselves any account of their faith. But it is also a mere accident or pre-established harmony that this *Polemik*, which had its first occasion supplied by Möhler's work, and was determined upon years ago in view of the unimpaired temporal glory of the Papacy, comes at this precise time to the light of day; and it need not cause surprise that a Protestant theologian at the very metropolis of the Catholic Church was seized with the thought of writing this book. Here it was begun, then continued in my beloved home of learning,³ and finally brought to a conclusion here this spring.

Möhler's *Symbolik*⁴ has evoked some well-grounded replies⁵; yet it cannot be said of any of them that

¹ See p. 396. He is said to have thus enforced his missionary teaching at Geismar near Fritzlar in 724, and to have built a Christian Chapel with the timber.

² By the 6th Regulation of the Index it is forbidden to read without special permission any sort of heretical (or, if we take the words in their strict acceptation, even Catholic) controversial work in the language of the country, although not, as in the case of the Mohammedans, under penalty of death. [H.]

³ Jena.

⁴ *Symbolik, or Exposition of the Dogmatic Differences of Catholics and Protestants according to their Public Confessional Writings*. Mainz, 1832 [9th ed. 1884]. I quote from the 6th ed. of 1843. It does not differ from the 5th, the completion of which the author did not live to see. [H.]

⁵ F. C. Baur. *The Antagonism between Catholicism and Protestantism as regards Principles and main Dogmas*. Tübingen, 1833, 2nd ed. 1836. [H.]

they have attained either among Protestants or Catholics a significance equal to that enjoyed by his own work. While Möhler attacked, by preference, the doctrine of the reformers, so these rejoinders defended—those by Baur and Marheineke appeared at any rate to defend—what Protestantism in its development, and yet in consonance with its religious import, has to maintain as antagonistic opinions natural and justifiable at that time, or has to surrender as appertaining to human weakness. This development of Protestantism, to which at times, as differing from its earliest reforming aspect, I have had to call attention, is with us no system of dogmas universally recognized and definitely formulated, but it is the Christian view of the world, necessarily issuing from the fundamental thoughts of the Reformation, and harmonized with modern culture. In this view of things the manifold lines on which run Protestant learning and the common consciousness are combined, and recognize themselves as bound together in a stable unity of sentiment over against the Catholic Church¹. Two extreme factions, however, that of absolute freedom and that of absolute bondage to orthodoxy, although they are still involved in this community of sentiment by means of invisible links, yet sometimes were near dropping off in the character of small minorities². As early as the time when Pro-

To this Möhler replied in *Fresh Investigations of Doctrinal Subjects*. Mainz, 1834, 2nd ed. 1836. Marheineke, *Review of Möhler's Symbolik* [from the *Jahrbücher f. wiss. Kritik*], Berlin, 1833. C. Imm. Nitzsch, *Protestant Reply to Möhler's Symbolik*, Hamburg, 1835. Moreover the latest uncompleted work of E. Sartorius, *Soli Deo Gloria!*, Stuttgart, 1859, is a direct echo of this controversy. [H.]

¹ An attempt to establish this is to be found in *The Development of Protestantism* by K. von Hase, Leipzig, 1855, 2nd ed.; in the *Four Academic Discourses*, Leipzig, 1864 (*Works*, x. 404-426). [H.]

² This separation has already taken place in Germany in the Free

testantism was laying the foundations of its Church, through an unhappy circumstance, and yet with the result of displaying to view its wealth of capacity, it was severed into two great ecclesiastical communities¹, and their union, as a question involved in their progressive development, is by one section of those concerned rejected, but by another recognized, though with a difference. On the other hand, with the exception of the insignificant body of 'Half-catholics', we are all united in the face of the Roman Church.

In the conflict with Möhler I have always regarded that gentle, noble spirit with the highest consideration. In any case youthful reminiscences bind me to his memory. We were private tutors together at Tübingen, both of us full of youthful ideals, and many a Saturday evening have we sat together in the tennis court with a pint of Neckar wine in front of us, at once attracted and repelled by one another. At that time he still deceived himself with hopes for his Church, which later on he perhaps renounced. The story went that when a lamentation was uttered among Catholic priests at Möhler's heterodoxy, an old priest said: 'After all a young man of learning may perhaps be allowed to believe a little differently from old men like us: he will bethink himself later.' And so it came to pass. His feeble health having forced him to resign the academic chair, he would now be standing conspicuous

Congregations on one side, and in the Lutheran Separatists on the other, so far as they were not simply cut off from the commencement by external force. [H.]

¹ Lutheran and Reformed. Under Frederick William IV a Supreme Church Council was appointed in 1850, charged two years later with the interests of both these Churches. His brother William I, who succeeded him in 1861, expressed himself as strongly in favour of the continuance of the Union, which, however, was never looked on with much favour by the Lutheran section.

among the most honoured bishops of Germany, if the Lord had not called him hence early. I have spent much of my life among Catholics, have found many good and pious men among them, and have experienced much kindness at their hands, from the exalted Church dignitary down to the solitary country parson. The dearest friend of my youth has passed over to that Church, and has there found an honourable vocation, being now a person of high repute in connexion with schools and benevolent institutions, incumbent of the most beautiful Gothic church which King Ludwig has erected. This secession has been to me a deep sorrow, and yet we have been able, as often as occasion served, to stretch out and grasp each other's hands across the gulf which in this way formed itself between us¹.

A veteran historian will in any case refuse to esteem lightly the Church of the Pope in its historical significance, and although it appears to me to be rather behind the times, nevertheless I do not fail to recognize that even still it is a necessity for certain nationalities as well as individuals, and that the antagonism of the two Churches, however much of a painful character it may have involved, especially for our own country, in the case of many a heart and family, nevertheless has also brought blessing to both Churches. The two

¹ Unhappily I am now free to name him—Dr. Ferdinand Herbst, incumbent of the Church of Maria Hilf in the suburb of Au, Munich, who died on May 11, 1863. As he had himself, in his *Life of a Priest* [Augsburg, 1842], made warm mention of our youthful friendship, so too in the obituary memorials of him [*Dr. F. Ignaz Herbst; a Sketch of his Life*, by Simon Knoll, Preacher for the City Parish of St. Peter's, Munich; Munich, 1863], I receive gracious mention thus: 'He cherished a loyal and kindly regard for the friend of his youth even at the time when they were at variance in their convictions, down to the end of his life, and still often visited the Catholic priest in order to discuss with him in confidential intercourse the dreams of youth and the facts of the present.' (Added in 1864.) [H.]

continue to have much that they may learn from one another, and there is much from which they may be guarded by means of one another. If the conceptions which cling to us as the result of acquaintance in youth with the classics acquire a sort of vitality in the presence of the statues of the gods seen in the Vatican, or of the Doric temples at Paestum or Agrigentum, and if accordingly, under such circumstances, I unhesitatingly fancy myself to belong to the religion of the ancient Greeks, how much more natural was it to surrender oneself to the sentiments of Catholic worship, and I might confess more frankly than the erstwhile Schaffhausen minister¹, that I have there sometimes involuntarily bowed the knee. Influenced by such thoughts, I have charged myself with strict scrupulousness to be fair towards the Catholic Church, while I am contending with it.

On former occasions this conflict has been carried on against great abuses and with considerable extravagance. The latter has been to a large extent discarded. The former in the face of the present position of learning could not hold their ground. But it is perhaps chiefly in the open recognition throughout this *Polemik* of all that I am able to recognize as Christian and morally sound in Catholicism, that the strength of the book consists. It is a strange thing, that whereas I am known to be by nature and in all personal relationships a peaceable character, nevertheless more than once in the internal disputes of our Church the pen has been converted into a sword, though always against opponents of some repute, such as rationalism of Wegscheider's type², against pietistic orthodoxy, and

¹ See vol. ii, p. 458.

² Wegscheider of Halle, a member of the Tübingen school, who e.g. repudiates miracles in his *Institutiones theol. Christ. dogmaticae*.

against the new Tübingen school¹. I was stirred up and enticed into these proceedings. Without such incitement I have thrown myself into this Catholic (and I hope last) conflict against the most powerful adversary, conscious as I am of an inward call to this by reason of a long and attentive contemplation of Catholicism alike in its present and its earlier aspect. Moreover, I might perhaps say with Prince Wolfgang von Anhalt², when he was counselled not to sign the Augsburg Confession, in order not to draw upon himself the displeasure of the Emperor: 'I have taken many a ride for the sake of good friends; I am ready to mount my horse once more for the sake of my Master Christ.'

I have termed this book a polemical *Handbook*, inasmuch as it was intended to be an *epitome* of all which the profoundly learned Martin Chemnitz³ brought forward on the side of Protestantism⁴, so far as it is at the present day justified and possessed of vitality. Thus I have had the co-operation of many colleagues and fellow workers of past days, and also that of industrious and younger fellow workers, the members of the theological seminary of our University at Jena. There we spent two sessions in discourses and conferences with regard to these subjects, which

¹ A town on the Neckar, whose university is one of the most famous in Germany. The 'new Tübingen school' (as opposed to an earlier and strictly orthodox school of teaching in the same university) was founded (1825-60) as a phase of modern rationalistic philosophy by Ferdinand Christian Baur, but is now on the whole discredited.

² Prince of Anhalt-Köthen, who was also a signatory of the famous Protest laid before the Diet at Spire, 1529, and the Smalcaldic League (see pp. 7, 9).

³ A noted German Lutheran theologian; d. 1586.

⁴ *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, 1565 pages, 4 vols. Editor, E. Preuss, 1861, 4to. [H.]

furnished or suggested to me much that only needed to have my own likeness and impress stamped upon it. Not that this handbook is intended to enter upon all ecclesiastical disputes and matters of contention in the schools, as they still appear in the later *Polemik* by Möhler. Of this sort is the question concerning the original state of man, which according to the teaching of both Churches is regarded as primitive perfection and sinlessness, but with this difference—that according to the Catholic dogma it was not till after Adam's creation that this perfection was bestowed upon him as an extraordinary gift of grace, while according to the Protestant dogma it was imparted to him at the same time as his creation. Baur insisted that according to the Catholic doctrine this perfection was merely suspended over Adam. According to Sartorius¹ it was like a hat resting upon a head. In that case the creation in the case of him who was the image of God was imperfect work, and the addition was supplementary and by the way. This view is at once Pelagian and Manichæan. The antagonism between these assertions of the two Churches is in keeping with their general view of things, and depends upon the fact that it is in the interest of Reformation teaching to make out as far as possible that man has lost much by the Fall, while the converse interest belongs to the Catholic. But I fail to perceive how it is revealed to us either from Holy Scripture, or from the conception of humanity, or from any sort of law or necessity appertaining to the spirit in its religious aspect, that Adam was created in one way rather than the other, or even how under present conditions of

¹ A professor of Dorpat, Livonia, and afterwards holding office at Königsberg, E. Prussia ; d. 1859.

intellectual attainment any interest lies in an answer to a question so framed. For this reason I have left on one side such controversies of the schools which have no weight in deciding the great ecclesiastical dispute.

It is obvious that the conception of Catholicism reaches further than the Roman Catholic Church, but I have had no occasion to make controversial mention of the orthodox Church of the East. Moreover, the Protestant Churches have not ceased to avow themselves constituent parts of the Holy Catholic Church according to the original and ideal meaning of the word in the Apostles' Creed. But this term, although at the present time enjoying a fair amount of acceptance among us, when transferred to ordinary use only breeds confusion. Therefore I here employ the expressions Catholic, Roman, papal Church as synonymous, only, as occasion may serve, employing one or another designation in accordance with the predominating reference in the particular case.

Although Möhler presented himself as the nearest opponent who gave rise to this book, yet of necessity there was on view before him in the century of the Reformation itself the great Roman controversialist, the Jesuit and cardinal Robert Bellarmine¹; and after Möhler the Jesuit Perrone, Professor of Dogmatics at the Collegio Romano, whose theological lectures, the last great work on dogmatics issued by the Roman Church, appearing in nine volumes, are widely dissemi-

¹ See p. 11. *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ Fidei adversus huius temporis hæreticos*. Lectures delivered since 1576 in the Gymnasium Romanum, Rome, 1581 pages, 4 volumes, fol. My edition is that of Cologne, 1628-9. It is cited according to the titles of the individual sections. The Dedication to Sixtus V commenced with the words: 'With perfect truth and wisdom has St. Jerome put on record that no one is so impious as not to be surpassed in his impiety by a heretic.' [H.]

nated in something like thirty editions¹. This living opponent is the really modern controversialist of the Roman Church, and I have had specially to reckon with him. Since it was essential that I should everywhere appeal only to theologians of recognized Roman orthodoxy I have, apart from monographs, among moderns appealed for testimony sometimes to Klee's *Dogmatik*², (seeing that his lectures at the time of the Hermes controversy³, when those of the other Bonn professors lay under the interdict of the archbishop of Cologne, were exclusively commended by the Roman party), and sometimes to the latest Catholic controversy issued by the provost of the Collegiate Church, Munich, viz. Döllinger⁴. In a Review, as Flacius⁵ had once done in an attack upon the Roman Church, he adduced testimony from among ourselves to prove the decay of the Protestant National Churches. Considering the sharp conflict in connexion with development which Protestantism had been for a century experiencing, it was not a difficult matter to hunt up some writers, orthodox pastors of a pietistic turn of mind, some of them already almost Catholics, who, conscious that they are not backed up by any congregations, dissatisfied with the successful authorities, have painted these

¹ See p. 86. *Praelectiones Theologicae, quas in Coll. Rom. S. I. habebat Ioannes Perrone*, 9 volumes. In the last revision of my book I have used the first edition of the German impression: Ratisbon, 1854. [H.]

² *Katholische Dogmatik*, by Heinrich Klee, Mainz, 1835, 3 volumes. [H.]

³ See p. 241.

⁴ *Church and Churches. The Papacy and the States of the Church. Historical and Political Considerations*, by J. I. Döllinger, 2nd impression, Munich, 1861. This is the work which is meant, wherever Döllinger is mentioned without further specification. As the most keen-witted and learned spokesman on the Catholic side north of the Alps he was up to this time to be considered as the Catholic authority. [H.]

⁵ See vol. ii, p. 21.

circumstances in the darkest colours. There might also be idealists who, because all their dreams had not come true, despairing of things as they actually were, saw hope of deliverance only in a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit, or are even satisfied to recognize in the presumably absolute collapse the token of the near approach of Christ to judge the world. It is not the aim of my book to defend the Church of my fathers and of my affections against accusations, except so far as that defence is necessarily involved in the combating of Catholic opposition. Rather, where the subject led me to it, I have without hesitation admitted the faults of my own Church in the present or in the past. It is a right possessed by Protestantism in working out its conception of the Church to have faults, that is to say, to become aware of them in order to discard them.

The five whom I have named have been adduced as pre-eminently Catholic theologians and advocates. Church doctrine itself is drawn from the decrees of the Council of Trent¹. This Council, which in antagonism to the Protestant Reformation carefully laid down the Church's doctrine on the traditional foundations, and also on the same basis carried out a reformation of Church practice and government, in its three sessions widely separated from one another (1545-63), was, in regard to its composition, far from being an episcopal representation of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, its decrees concerning faith were gradually accepted as in keeping with their aim by all the Catholic Churches of the West. As a cognate source there has been

¹ Cited from the 4th Leipzig stereotyped edition of 1852, which follows the impression of the Roman edition issued by the *Propaganda* in 1834. (11th ed. published in 1877). [H.]

employed the *Professio fidei Tridentinae*, this short summary of the Tridentine belief dating from 1564, for although it is not all Catholics who recognize as binding a Confession of faith which issues only from Rome, nevertheless all clergy now are bound to this by oath. More than once those who, as objects of suspicion, were unwilling, on the occasion of an inquiry from bishop or Pope, to subscribe to that document, have been deprived and disposed of by excommunication. This *Professio*, to which moreover converts are as a rule bound, is thus practically a law of faith and dogma for the Catholic Church. I have indeed without hesitation used the Roman Catechism, which in like manner is merely a Romish production of 1566, as a faithful exposition of Tridentine belief, but only as a witness to doctrines which are at present recognized by all Catholic authorities¹.

Inasmuch, however, as the Catholic Church had a fairly definite faith even before the Council of Trent, for otherwise her faith would be of later origin than the Protestant Confessions, and inasmuch as that Council, in order to avoid the internal disputes of its schools of theology, not unfrequently of set purpose used expressions of a vague and indefinite character, it follows that the Catholic doctrine could not be fully grasped without this background of ante-Tridentine teaching, which even in the latter theology comes prominently to the front. We find this doctrinal tradition in those Fathers and Schoolmen who are recognized as orthodox, and it is maintained in the case of the above-named post-Tridentine teachers of dogmatics. Their unanimity in respect to tradition may be regarded as still more firmly

¹ *Catechismus ex Decreto Con. Tridentini*, 4th Leipzig stereotyped edition, 1853. [H.]

established for Catholic doctrine, than is found in the seventeenth century with regard to orthodox Lutheran doctrine in the case of the Lutheran writers on dogmatics of the Wittenberg school, for the Roman Curia since the Reformation has often enough promptly addressed itself to the solemn condemnation of doctrines and books, which appeared to follow by-paths that were a very harmless deviation from the Church's tradition. These papal decisions in like manner are documents indicating Church doctrine¹. Nevertheless, we must distinguish between (1) what has been set forth by an ecumenical Council with the Pope's approval as an unalterable rule of faith, (2) what has logically attached itself to this as Catholic teaching by means of a long and uniform tradition, and finally (3) what is still both maintained and assailed as controversial in the Catholic schools². The first alone is law for all Catholics. In respect to the third, diversity can have free course. Opinions differ with regard to the binding character of the second. I have pointed to these distinctions wherever they were involved in the discussion. Sometimes it has been necessary to obtain an acquaintance with the historical progress of a doctrine from very early times, because it was only in this its historical development that it could be defended or assailed, and in any case (which after all is the most important consideration) it was only thus that it could be understood.

But it is not dogma alone that forms the battle-field in this war of mind with mind, in accordance with which the future of the two Churches will be decided. The

¹ The most important *Constitutiones* of this kind are attached as an Appendix to the Decrees of Trent as given in the edition of Rome and Leipzig. [H.]

² This corresponds to the ordinary distinction of (1) *Quae fidei sunt* (or *de fide*), (2) *fidei proxima*, et (3) *quae in scholis Catholicis agitantur*. [H.]

sphere of action is also ethical, social, humanistic. The third Book of our *Polemik* enters upon these questions, which I have naturally termed 'Supplementary Matters' only in reference to their limited significance for the contest which hangs over us. The whole division into three books with their subdivisions cannot lay claim to being necessitated by any principle. It is merely a matter of juxtaposition and interweaving, according as one matter, following upon another and illustrating it, appeared to aid the understanding towards the attainment of the end proposed.

This Handbook is no popular book, but it has had for its object to be intelligible to all persons who are even in the ordinary sense of the word *educated*, and who do not shrink from seriously entering upon such an investigation. For this reason much had to be set out at greater length than would have been needed among experts, and thus, once set free from the stiffness of a set treatise, the first person, as setting forth one's own views, trifling experiences, and matters of passing interest, has been more prominent than is customary in learned treatises. I should add that the notes¹ are only for such as understand Latin, and contain, without any parade of learning, somewhat more of a theological character and various slight additions, less as proofs than by way of further explanation. There is nothing in them that is necessary for understanding the book.

My knowledge does not suffice to prophesy whether the history of the world, having witnessed a Church of St. Peter with its authoritative law and its secular splendour, and a Church of St. Paul with its subjectivity and spirituality combined with mental dialectic, will yet

¹ Many of these are omitted by the editor of the 7th German edition, and so here.

live to see the oneness in love of a Church of St. John, thus corresponding to what Rome possesses in outward expression in her three great Basilicas¹: but I cherish the joyful assurance that this controversial Handbook will, when the right time arrives, be forgotten, if again a Bow of peace, and one that is not fashioned out of the mists of indifference, throws its arch over the two Churches, into which through a Divine dispensation our people are for the present severed, while, nevertheless, it has the sentiment of a single nation of brethren under the banner of the Cross, and rightly reposing in the peace of God.

ROME: *May*, 1862.

¹ St. Peter's in the Vatican, St. Paul's without the walls, St. John Lateran.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND (GERMAN) EDITION

IT must have happened to other persons as well, that when a book which has long been borne in the heart, at length lies finished before the writer, his thoughts are willingly diverted from it for a year. Accordingly, when it was intimated to me that a new edition of this *Polemik* was needed, I was disposed to have it struck off without alteration, and in fact, as things are, I have nothing to withdraw. Nevertheless, when a book has once been for some time the centre of a definite circle of thoughts, one's meditations sometimes involuntarily turn towards these interests, and at other times matters relating to them are brought to one's notice. Thus there came to be much supplementary matter, which had happened since, or been noticed for the first time. This new material was easily inserted, inasmuch as it attached itself to what had been already set forth by way of development or confirmation. For example, I had already given utterance to a judgement concerning the establishment of a Catholic University in Germany (see vol. ii, p. 444 f). The matter was then on the *tapis*, when the plan for it came before the Catholic General Assembly at Aachen. By such additions the notes are somewhat enlarged¹. However, the right to introduce these without twinges of conscience is already recognized. In general no one who has possessed or

¹ But see Note, p. xxxi.

read this book in its first shape, has any need of procuring or reading it in its new form.

The general tone in dealing with our peaceful *Polemik* in Protestant and in secular periodicals has justified my confidence that there exists a general Protestant consciousness, or at least community of sentiment, which in accordance with the Austrian motto *viribus unitis* is permanently opposed to Catholicism. It has been recognized, although of course with varying degrees of sympathy or antipathy towards the individual shape which this general tendency takes in my conception, that I have not written this book on my own authority, but have disposed in order of battle the common thoughts of Protestantism, and in this sense have written in the name of the Protestant Church. Only the small 'half-catholic.' Lutheran party, from whom I expected better things, in one of their obscure periodicals¹, while not indeed taking the trouble of saying anything against the book, read a ludicrous and severe lecture to the *Neue Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, on the ground that they, although desiring above all things to be orthodox, had reviewed the book with learned consideration.

Catholic organs of opinion have up to the present given few occasions for me to make a correction or rejoinder. The *Catholic* of Mainz has attacked my view as to the attitude of Tertullian towards Eucharistic doctrine.² This is an old subject of contention between Protestant and Catholic theology, and difficult to com-

¹ *Monatsschrift for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Prussia*, edited by Wangemann, Berlin, 1863, Nov. and Dec. parts. [H.]

² *The Eucharistic Teaching of Tertullian and the latest Protestant Polemik*, by Dieringer (*The Catholic*, edited by Heinrich und Moufang, March, 1864). I have now at the proper place (pp. 243 f.) examined the Catholic contention. [H.]

pose owing to the obscure, exuberant, and figurative style of that eager-minded Father. In order not to entangle my readers in this subtle investigation, I did not do more than simply quote his two statements, from which it is clear to the most homely understanding that Tertullian knows nothing of the Catholic doctrine of transmutation of the elements. The *Catholic*, on the other hand, has set forth ten reasons which in its view make it appear that the chief passage is plainly to be understood in the Romish sense. I mention the matter here only on account of the practical application which the *Catholic* deduces from it. In the first place it says that I seem to lack acquaintance with the writings of Tertullian. This may be set on one side. In the second place it says that from this one instance we may form a safe judgement as to the scientific value of this book. 'The *Polemik*, as it here appears, can merely result, where it finds credence, in the deception of the ignorant.'¹

Thus if it be once granted that I had not rightly understood a difficult passage in the writings of one of the most obscure of the Fathers, which Catholic theologians themselves expound in different ways, and which also according to the Catholic view is not actually decisive on the subject of our contention, Catholic theology would thereby have completed its case against this whole *Polemik*! In this is shown the craft of the attack. The leading organ of the Jesuits' party in Germany could not well be silent as to our *Polemik*, but it also considered it of questionable expediency to deal with it seriously. Then it selected a small quotation, and after it had launched against this a whole

¹ Adding the kindly limitation: 'We do not say that Herr Hase *desires* to deceive his readers, but only that he does in fact deceive them.' [H.]

crowd of supposed proofs, it complacently reaches the warning; 'He who in an easy-going way relies upon the statements of this book with regard to Catholic doctrine and organization, has permitted himself to be led astray. And yet the humblest readers are in a position to lay bare its errors as errors to themselves and others by adducing proofs of the opposite. By far the greater number of persons, therefore, will do well to let the book alone.' And this, they say, is the more feasible, inasmuch, as 'certain products of literature of themselves go the way of all flesh'.¹

Doubtless the time will come when there will only stand here and there in a library a dusty copy of this book; but this will not be until its work is done, till the truth which it contains is passed into the common consciousness, and its form replaced by one that is better and more adapted to the times, or when the happy day has dawned when there is absolutely no more need of such writings. That it is a book for which is foretold the speedy way of all flesh in the ordinary sense of those words, is certainly not the belief

¹ The *Catholic* finds a second reason for the attitude it takes up in the following: 'In any case Protestants have no right to expect or to desire that we should take a friendly interest in their literature, any more than they trouble themselves about ours.' The author certainly did not expect a friendly interest to be taken by the Catholics of Mainz in his book; for this would be to follow Christ's command, to love one's enemies. Whether Catholic theologians consider it worth while to trouble themselves about this *Polemik*, is their affair, and certainly gives me no concern. But it will be evident to learned Catholics that unjustified and unbecoming conclusions, such as Herr Dieringer has drawn from the disputed interpretation of some passages from Tertullian, do not further their cause. It is a great and serious conflict which our Churches are carrying on with one another. Where that conflict sometimes brings about a literary outburst, there can be no objection to making use of all intellectual methods, but mere rudeness cannot be of any avail to that end. Moreover, iron works most efficiently if it be furbished, and be indeed in the form of fine steel. [H.]

of the *Catholic* itself, and in two earlier publications¹, only not with a direct reference to me, it has given itself great trouble in combating the consequences which accrue to Protestantism from our sketch of the ideal Church.

It was not until the greater part of the reprint of this *Polemik* was complete, that I became aware that a work by the bishop of Paderborn² is specially directed against it. This bishop followed learned studies at Halle, although he knows nothing good to relate of his teachers there, the rationalistic as well as the pietistic, according to his own division of them, except that Leo in joyful admiration promoted him on his terming our Emperor Henry IV a trumpery fellow. He then became professor of moral philosophy at Bonn, where he passed as a liberal theologian, while as bishop of a large diocese containing a mixed population, where moreover he has frequent intercourse with Protestants, he appears just the man to champion the Catholic cause. This championship, with the favourite reference to the break up of Protestantism as already begun (with which anticipation the fear of its threatening extension seeks to soothe itself), has an element of vividness about it, inasmuch as it consists to a large extent of a report of conversations which he had carried on with Protestants of various degrees of culture on the occasion of his official journeys. If all these in the presence of the gracious prelate sung small either from courtesy or embarrassment, this was merely what the purpose with which he wrote demanded; only that

¹ In the treatise entitled *The Two Sides of Catholicism*, in the numbers for January and February, 1864. [H.]

² Dr. Konrad Martin, *An Episcopal Utterance addressed to the Protestants of Germany*, Paderborn, 1864; in several editions. [H.]

the statement that the one person designated by name, his former colleague, Dr. Hasse, at Bonn, accepted correction so humbly on the subject of Catholic sanctification by works, although it may be true, is nevertheless unlikely.¹

The exposition is as a rule of this kind. A Protestant interlocuter adduces in some way an old controversial exaggeration directed against some tenet of the Catholic Church, or the bishop himself adduces a foolish prejudice of this sort, as he terms it, and considers that when this is refuted, the Catholic side is thereby justified. Thus auricular confession is declared to be a Divine institution. 'But the false assertion, with which you, good Protestants, are supplied, as though confession was first introduced in the Middle Ages by Innocent III at the fourth Lateran Council, is really too preposterous. Neither would it be clear how, if it were not from God, it could ever have thus without any opposition been introduced by a mere man. Such a duty, so diametrically opposed to our inclinations, which so sorely injures our self-love, and imposes upon us so great a sacrifice in the form of self-denial, is not one which the whole Christian world would so easily and all at once permit to be obtruded upon it. If a lie is told, it must at least be so told as to make it possible to be reasonably believed.' But Protestant theology by no means asserts that Inno-

¹ The Protestant Church historian might also comment on a trifling circumstance, viz. that his Catholic colleague had not clearly in view the historical course of the German Reformation, when he said to him: 'You, my dear and honoured colleague, know as well as I do how Amsdorf (for Amsdorf see vol. ii, p. 12), the *former* bishop of Naumburg, and *afterwards* a friend and adherent of Luther, etc.' The teaching of the Reformers with regard to original sin and predestination is then set forth in a still more ignorant manner, as though they took their stand by man in his fallen state, man without Christ. [H.]

cent III was the first to introduce auricular confession, but that he made this confession into a law and an act of ecclesiastical compulsion on the basis of a custom taking its rise in the oldest form of penitential discipline, and one which from the time of Leo the Great gradually obtained a footing in the West. The bishop moreover adds that the hearing of confessions, especially in the cold season of the year and in a damp and raw Church, is no delectable business, and that in fact priests themselves, not to speak of the Pope and bishops, confess. In this way he considers that he has refuted every Protestant objection, and proved irrefragably that auricular confession is a Divine law.

He rarely permits himself to adduce a proof from Holy Scripture. On the other hand he has even brought forward one previously unknown to us in support of the cult of the Mother of God: 'We have,' he says, 'in Holy Scripture a proof of the power of her intercession which we cannot get rid of by any specious reasoning, and which, although but *one*, is for us as good as *a thousand*. It is that supplied by the first miracle *obtained at her entreaty*, which Christ wrought at Cana. Surely then we are not deceiving ourselves, if we assume that this her power of intercession where she now is by the side of her Divine Son in heaven, is not inferior to what it formerly was.' Thus according to the Apostle's account it was through her timid reminder, 'They have no wine,' followed by the stern correction, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come,' that there was *obtained by entreaty* the miracle at Cana, which otherwise Christ would not have wrought, and this incident is the Biblical ground for confidence in the case of all the

prayers, sensible and senseless, that have been directed to Mary! Rather might it have been said that the Canaanitish woman obtained by entreaty the cure of her daughter. Bishop Martin, who permits nothing to be got rid of by specious reasoning, might thus still more logically address himself to this heathen woman as a great intercessor in heaven.

But the episcopal words, addressed in the first place to the Protestants of his diocese—according to the Catholic fiction that he is their chief shepherd as well, and has to give account for their souls, and that they too, as blinded children that have gone astray, are subject to Catholic jurisdiction—and with wider range to all his dear Protestant friends, as he terms them collectively, are benevolent and kindly, so as to end their antagonism to their loving Mother the Church, and their resistance by leading them back to the ‘one sheepfold’, if these were caused merely by error and misconception owing to the calumnies of their preachers and theologians. The guilt of this is concentrated, alongside of ‘multitudes of tractates hostile to the Church’, in our *Polemik*, which is thus referred to in the preface: ‘Truly nothing more spiteful than what is said in the book, can be said against the Catholic Church. What must he think of us who judges of our teaching by such hideous caricatures of it? When I was making my Confirmation tour last year in the Saxony part of my diocese I found this book with a considerable circulation there, and also found many very spiteful prejudices against us current and derived from it. I will return to the matter in a written shape later, and adduce proofs of the assertion which I have here made in general terms as to the value of this book. It is such contemporary attacks made

upon our Church which form the principal occasion for my writing thus.'

Any one who after this episcopal commendation takes up my book will straightway search for the 'hideous caricatures'. In my writings on ecclesiastical history I have hitherto, even with learned Catholics, had the reputation of being as far as possible fair towards their Church; while Protestants sometimes thought that I was too fair. My standpoint, however, is always the same. This *Polemik* has a threefold object. In the first place it aims at the exposition of the teaching and theology of the Catholic Church. As long as the Decrees of the Council of Trent are held to be trustworthy sources for the former, and the *Summa* of St. Thomas and Perrone's *Dogmatik*, with that which is connected with them as of equal authority, for the second, the fidelity of my exposition cannot be assailed, and the bishop of Paderborn has not indeed once attempted this for any definite case. The second object is to consider the reasons which led to these doctrines and to pass judgement upon them. The third is to perceive their effect upon the life of the people and of the nations. While with reference to both these latter there may be a dispute in the interests of truth, I had adduced especially as to the last very many facts from earlier and later days, which certainly owe their origin to frank investigation and observation. Nevertheless, I may have fallen into error in an individual case, or at least have failed to grasp its significance. Anything of this kind that is pointed out to me I will cheerfully retract as in duty bound. I should add that the lord bishop has invalidated none of these facts by distinct testimony. What the nature of his contention is, some examples taken at random may show.

Against the opinion which I expressed with regard to the Mortara case (p. 83 ff.)—which is the opinion of the whole educated world, so far as it is not merely Catholic—bishop Martin makes out that the holy See acted quite rightly in this matter, since the natural rights of parents are done away with by means of the superior rights of the child who has been made one with the Saviour. The existence of the latter rights can be denied only by the modern anti-Christian view of the world. ‘It is this alone that is guilty of all the scandalous mischief which has been wrought in all directions and for so long a time in connexion with the Mortara case.’ Apart from this practical application I have merely maintained to the same effect that Catholicism logically leads to such acts as sever the sacred bonds of nature.

The bishop of Paderborn terms it a wickedly contrived jest or gibe, a curious and rude manner of dealing with very sacred things, which does not testify to a cultured or Christian disposition, when I speak (vol. ii, p. 212) of a penance as imposed in the confessional, consisting of a prescribed number of Paternosters or Ave Marias. ‘The day will come when those who so jest would perhaps thank God, if it were granted them the power to utter a devout Paternoster or Ave Maria.’ But what I said was quite in earnest, simply in defence of the sacredness of prayer as against its degradation to a penalty imposed, and against shrieking like the heathen.

To my proof (vol. ii, p. 295 ff.) that marriage is not a Sacrament ordained by Christ, that the Church is not justified in bringing every dispute relating to marriage under her jurisdiction, and that the mediaeval Church acted unwisely in setting up so many hindrances to

marriage, he rejoins that it is precisely in setting these up that she has acted with benevolence and wisdom, as a safeguard for freedom in entering upon marriage; but, inasmuch as modern Canonists have made a move for a revision of marriage legislation by the Church and the removal of one or another hindrance to marriage, 'We may venture to leave with confidence to their higher wisdom the whether and when.' The doubts which I expressed on the other side receive this comment at the end of the judgement: 'What a quantity of foul linen, what a quantity of empty, jingling talk!'

With regard to my calling the glorification of the priesthood, not the motive of the withholding of the cup, but the principal reason on account of which the Roman Church clings so firmly to its usage (vol. ii, p. 289), the lord bishop's judgement is as follows: 'A more silly utterance could scarcely be made with reference to this matter.' His proof consists in the fact that even the priests of highest rank only receive the cup when they are themselves offering the sacrifice of the mass, and otherwise never. 'Thus how can there be any question here of undue favour or of the exaltation of the priesthood? My dear Protestant friends, how you must allow yourselves to be persuaded of anything and everything, not only from your ordinary preachers, but from your most learned theologians. Can one then wonder that you are often so prejudiced against us?' From what is here laid down it only follows that the priest even in the full exercise of his official authority, if he is acting as sacrificial priest at the altar, is to the exclusion of all others appointed to be in the full sense a sharer at Christ's board: but this is the glorification of the priesthood. Moreover, the mutilation of the

sacred meal is rendered still more prominent by the fact that, if the Catholic Supper were the faithful copy of the original sacred Meal, our Lord, even though surrounded by the Apostles, would have had to drink alone of the Cup; whereas, He said: 'Drink ye all of this.' It was another kind of cup which at that time He drank to the dregs alone.

Our bishop's conclusion, however, is sometimes as clear as it is undeniable. For instance he asserts that 'the great ignorance even of many educated and intelligent Protestants in respect to Catholic doctrines and institutions naturally has its basis simply in the fact that they are ignorant of us and of our refutations of their errors.' Certainly we cannot blame a learned Catholic and bishop for defending the cause of his Church, and for not being good-natured enough to allow himself to be worsted. Also we may grant him the credit, at least on this side of the Alps, of having brought a new charge against Protestant controversial theology, and one which came upon myself with great surprise, that of silliness. If the Jesuits in Rome from time to time for the edification and amusement of the people introduce the comedy of a public controversial disputation, the Catholic cause is represented by the 'prudente', and the Protestant opposition by the 'idiot', who shows himself as much as possible in the character of a dunce. Our German *Polemik*, however, cannot make things so convenient for them. But everything written against Catholicism is a crime, supposing that it is true which Perrone in his last work affirms¹:

¹ *S. Pietro in Roma*, p. 113. Therefore, according to him, in the numerous writings which attack the Church in Italy, audacity, ignorance, and deception hold sway; for it is only by such arts that the Catholic religion can be assailed. [H.]

‘To attack Catholicism is just the same thing as to attack truth’; and from his standpoint this is at least logical.

With our Lord’s salutation of peace there was issued by a Protestant minister an eloquent exhortation so as, after the long and bitter quarrel, to unite again the two Churches that were at variance¹. But if the author with his knowledge of history enumerates all the ineffectual attempts at such a union, since on the Catholic side they could merely be attempts to recall the child now of full age to the bosom of the old Mother², and the difficulty of the operation is not concealed from his view, such reunion presents itself to his yearning only as the final aim in the dim distance. Our *Polemik* is not in antagonism with this call to peace; only that what he considers as the necessary preparation for it, while recognizing that this is the limit as regards duty and capacity in our time, I confidently maintain to be the goal that we have in sight, a peaceable existence of the two Churches side by side, in the first instance in our own country, with a recognition of the blessings of Christianity as existing in both communions, while they vie with each other in making use of these each in the special manner which is open to it through its own characteristics. Döllinger expressed it thus: ‘The unity of Germany is the uniting of the Confessions in Germany.’ Rather it is the pious, intellectual, or national elevation above the strife, for in all three ways this

¹ *Pax vobiscum! The Ecclesiastical Re-union of Catholics and Protestants*, Bamberg, 1863. [H.]

² Ketteler. *Freedom, Authority, and Church*, p. 244: ‘However we may yearn for the reunion of all Christians Confessions, we Catholics can still never hide the truth, that in a reunion we can only contemplate a return to the Catholic Church.’ [H.]

is possible; it is the Christian and mutual reconciliation of the two Churches, just as our heavenly Father bears with both. The former view would only point to despair of the attainment of a united Germany.

On a spring evening of this year I sat with the learned Benedictine Tosti, the active-minded Church historian, who also understands how to combine the duties of a pious monk with those of a patriot. We were in confidential talk upon the lofty mountain-peak of his monastic stronghold, Monte Cassino, from which for a period of almost a thousand years while there existed as yet no Protestant Church, so much piety and learning spread itself over the whole of the West. We came to speak of antagonism and of peace in connexion with the Church. Tosti reposed great hope on the fact that the historians of both Confessions have begun with unbiased sincerity to grasp the history of their own as well as of the antagonistic Church¹. And undoubtedly this peace of mutual recognition, which the application of truth to the past brings with it, will cast its mild light upon the present, in order here too to be at the least fair.

In this aspect we have also welcomed the repeated patriotic assurances of the annual General Assembly of Catholic associations in Germany as a good sign. The assembly at Frankfort put forth this declaration: 'They see in the final acceptance of the principle of

¹ But a recognition of the thoughtful piety of Luther, e.g., is forbidden by the Instruction, still holding good, which was given by Clement VIII for the Congregation of the Index. Honourable epithets, and whatever besides is to be found that is to the credit of the heretic, are to be expunged. We cannot be surprised if weak-minded persons, changing this prohibition into a positive form, regard vituperation of the Reformers as a pious duty. [H.] See Reusch, *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*, Tub. 1886, p. 532.

religious equality the most secure basis of religious freedom, and in an honourable rivalry as to learning and charity the sole way to heal the religious differences of their country. While they live in hopes that the German people will again rise above the state of religious severance, and while they ever cherish the deepest desire to find their brethren, now separated from them, again upon the basis of the one and only truth, they call upon all honourable men to condemn the crass fanaticism, which in one section of German learning and of its press advances the weapons of falsehood and abuse against the Catholic Church.' My only criticism is that they always speak of intolerance and injustice as *experienced*, never as *practised*!

The Prince-bishop of Trent, Baron von Riccabona, as early as 1862 congratulated the Tirol thus: 'A stream of godlessness threatened to invade our borders as well; but the mountain folk still withstood the enticements of freedom of conscience.' At the tercentenary festival of the Council of Trent in a pastoral dated May 12, 1863, he delivered himself thus: 'After Martin Luther, in order to gratify his passions, had raised the standard of revolt against the Church of Jesus Christ, the most abandoned men in the whole of Europe soon crowded round him¹. Emboldened by external support, and equipped with false learning, they undertook the operation of laying waste

¹ Döllinger, in his opening address before the Congress of *savants* in Munich, after naming the Catholics noteworthy for their learning among the various nations of culture in the sixteenth century, said: 'Only Germany, which had placed its most gifted and energetic men in the service of Protestantism, was able to set, beside these, no names of equal reputation.' This is an example of the different view taken of history by the learned historian and the fanatical bishop. [H.]

Christ's vineyard. We will not make mention of the barbarism which, so much as in them lay, they again introduced into the world, but it is certain that they trod under foot the Blood of the Redeemer, and robbed heaven of an exceeding number of souls, in order to cast them into the abyss of hell.' Then it is further set forth how the Council of Trent met the blasphemies of heresy with the unction of love, and, presenting the most sublime spectacle which the world has ever seen, the Church of Christ in conflict with the synagogue of Satan, cast these shameless monsters to the ground. But, it continues, heresy, although wounded to death, is still ever rattling its chains, and, powerless though it be as religion to edify, in its prolonged death exerts itself, as a principle of dissolution and of death, to poison all the nations of the earth. Perrone in his work of this year in the Introduction, which is addressed to a wholly different matter¹, repeats the result of his historical inquiry as to Luther, viz. that this rebel, out of his abandoned jealousy and unbounded ambition, directed against the Church which had given him life, advancing from error to error, overturned the whole order of faith and morals, espoused a contemptible runaway nun, and as the head of a reprobate gang, given over to every kind of turpitude, filled all Europe with bloodshed. Against Calvin he brings the novel charge that, after being branded to his eternal shame with a red-hot iron on account of unnatural crimes, he breathed out

¹ In *St. Peter, &c.*, p. 9f, and thus in the introduction to the historical proof that St. Peter was actually bishop of Rome. The motive for this work is to be seen in the contrast between the assurance on the one hand that Protestantism, decayed and powerless, is hastening to its complete overthrow, and on the other the uneasy fear of its spread in Italy. [H.]

his profligate soul amid the madness of despair and blasphemy.

Naturally there is nothing said as to an historical proof of all this. I do not think it worth while to refute such fanatical notions, or even to avail myself of the counsel which the editor of the Munich *Volksbote* offered to the General Assembly at Aachen: 'A few words are often a substitute for a whole article.' Thus if, e. g., at the side of a hostile utterance on the question of religious equality, there be simply written, 'It is false,' this is easily said, even when directed against the truth itself. But undeniably, in the face of such utterances on the part of Catholic bishops and theologians, it is high time for a *Polemik* which shall remind them seriously that there are quite other things for which the Catholic consciousness must take thought, and for which it has to be responsible in order to establish its rights in the presence of an age of education, and at the same time its rights to an extended future, which shall hold sway over nations.

JENA: October 31, 1864.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD (GERMAN) EDITION

[ABRIDGED]

WHEN Boniface cut down the sacred oak, when Tertullian (with bitter jests at the comers from Olympus who, furnished with feathers, scales, or horns, were lovers of earthly beauties) himself overthrew the fair temples, this must have appeared to their votaries to be rank impiety. A higher culture is needed to place oneself at the point of view of him who is making the attack, and to recognize that for him the object attacked is not an object for piety at all. I have attacked the Catholic Church with all the power of which Protestantism is capable, but with consideration, I might say, with reverence, since it too is a Christian Church. I have not written this *Polcmik* as an advocate who desires only to overthrow the case of his opponent, but as a theologian, who everywhere gladly recognizes what comes from Christ or leads to Him. I have laid stress upon whatever is good and beautiful in this Church, and perhaps all who lamented my attack appealed to something which had been recognized and held up to admiration by me. I have recognized it in its ability, for such is its character, but I could not have kept silence upon that point, even if I had only desired to controvert. I should have had no need to indicate defects in my own Church, if my aim had been anything else than truth.

Those members of the Catholic Church who are trained not in the Roman manner, but on higher lines, are not unfamiliar with the chief divergencies which form an abyss between us; but they know also the bridge, consisting of a common Christianity and of consideration for its many forms, which leads across the abyss. They recognize also as accepted by us that this *Polemik* both pulls down the creeping plants which grow upon the ancient Holy Rood of Catholicism, and directs its attack specially against Ultramontaniam, which is a heavy burden to themselves and to their country.

I have to thank learned Protestants for some very searching and instructive criticism on the occasion of the second impression.

The uneasiness of a doctrinaire quietism in Berlin at the fact that this *Polemik*, 'instead of bringing into prominence the strength of full Reformation principles in their positive aspect—a course which, however, has a side making for peace—is rather provocative and exciting,' is one that I cannot share; and that the old Reformation controversy, which in all seriousness declared the Pope to be Antichrist and the mass an idolatrous service, has a particularly peaceable side is also not within my memory.¹ I have set forth the deep-reaching antagonism between the two Churches,

¹ What impression in regard to this our respected friend Chemnitz made upon his Catholic contemporaries as representative of this controversy is seen from Bellarmine's *Disputationes*. What impression he makes upon our contemporaries is told in F. X. Schulte's 'Traps': 'We cannot avoid a righteous astonishment at the colossal audacity in assertion, shown in the shocking perversion of Catholic doctrines. We say nothing of the burning hatred towards the Church displayed by the old Brunswick theologian in every line; but how he can have written thus in the character of a man of honour and learning remains to us inexplicable.' [H.]

but one learns to know a tree not merely from its roots, but also from its leaves, flowers, and fruits. I have sought to explain the origin and religious significance of Catholic dogmas and worship, just as I have their Protestant opposites. In such an explanation there is contained an element of reconciliation for both sides. That Catholicism and Protestantism are opposites and of world-wide significance historically, we shall never be able to conceal, and long hence they will still be carrying on an honourable intellectual warfare with one another; but sentiment has already become a power among our people, and this *Polemik* is least of all opposed to the deepening and broadening of that sentiment, establishing that there is something higher than the strife of Creeds, namely Christianity and country. A soldier from the Bavarian Oberland, sent word home from the camp before Paris: 'Tell our clergyman who saw us off with so much anxiety, we are no longer Lutheran but Prussian!' In the mouth of the people this means that fidelity to the Church of one's forefathers is no longer to derogate from love to the common German country. Thus I have no hesitation in sending out once more this *Polemik*, in its rejuvenescence, precisely at the crisis in which, amid sanguinary wars, sacrifices, and victories, forgetful of all quarrels on the part as well of races as of Churches, our nation, fulfilling the dream of my youth, is busied in stretching out her hands to the ancient German Empire, and after the long interval when we had no Emperor, now in fulfilment of the tradition cherished in the dreams of our people, the Hohenstaufen¹ family return, but in

¹ A princely family which furnished sovereigns to Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

reconcilement with popular freedom, in agreement with the rights of its Prince, their whole heart given up to Germany, as the house of Hohenzollern.¹

JENA: *December 8, 1870.*

¹ They ruled over Brandenburg from 1415, and furnished Kings of Prussia since 1701 (and German Emperors since 1871).

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH (GERMAN) EDITION

THE third edition of this book was edited under the direct influence of the Vatican Council, the breaking up of the States of the Church, and the thunder of battle echoing from France, in the solitude of the Thuringian forest. For this reason chiefly the history of this Council has come into more prominence than belongs to a *Polemik*. Accordingly on the occasion of a fresh revision I thought of striking out these reminiscences, but as in most cases they proceed from an eye-witness, who was in a favourable position for taking a generally impartial view, I have spared them, considering that in any case much that is not of a polemical kind is to be found in the book; for, although I wrote it with controversial intent, yet also with a pleasure and affection, which is constantly reawakened upon a fresh revision.

The extent to which in such a work the present exercises rights over the past is to be found in dealing with the results of 1870, which were the occasion not of withdrawing but of adding and developing in several instances. This book took shape in my mind in 1860 under Pius IX. It was in the constant contemplation of his rule, not with his blessing, but still without his curse that it was carried on, and at length with his decease this last revision is concluded. Posterity will not number him among the great popes, but in consequence of the fortunes which he experienced he has left behind him a great memory.

When my book commenced its career, the most powerful Catholic State and the Catholic Church were on perfectly friendly terms; only there existed a presentiment of future conflicts. Our *Polemik* only in part coincides with that which now disturbs the German Empire under the name of *Culturkampf*. On the one hand it concedes all possible liberty and prosperity to the Catholic Church, on the other hand, going much further than the 'May-laws', it assails Catholicism itself. I readily would apply to myself the words of the orator of the Catholic party, the noble Mallinckrodt, uttered upon his death-bed: 'Why should Christians not come to an understanding with regard to what is Christian?'

At this date the supporters of Rome in Germany were too much occupied with the war against laws and events, to trouble themselves much with the consideration of tedious books. Accordingly mine was only noticed by them quite occasionally. Thus in Brück's *Church History* (2nd ed., 1877, p. 872) there appears among those who 'to an incredible extent misapprehend and distort' the teaching of the Catholic Church, 'in particular Karl Hase, who seems to desire to supply the lack of a firm basis by unbounded animosity.'¹ However, from the midst of the *Culturkampf* there appeared a strange work², in order hereafter to lighten the labour of the 'historian of our century', by showing him 'the form and methods whereby in those boasted

¹ This 'Professor at the episcopal Seminary at Mainz' perhaps never even saw my work, for he quotes only the second edition as one that appeared in 1866 in two volumes, of which the second at any rate has never yet been seen by me! [H.]

² Heinrich von der Clana, *A Protestant Polemik against the Catholic Church. Sketches and Studies*, Freiburg, 1874. It appeared first anonymously the same year in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, in the form of eight articles, which run through the whole of the 73rd volume. [H.]

days learned Protestant controversy contended against the Catholic position. The form we must construct on the model supplied by Hase. His work is the Koran of modern Protestant controversy.'

The 'form' consists in this that the author, as being forced to a temporary exile from home owing to the fate which by God's permission has befallen the Catholic Church in Germany, and having reached the neighbourhood of the German frontier, sought a few days' repose at the house of an acquaintance in a small country town almost wholly Protestant. While there he reads in the '*Anzeiger*, which appears twice a week', as follows: 'Centenary Festival of the Suppression of the Order of Jesuits. Controversial Addresses, combining learning with a popular character, against the Roman Catholic Church by Professor Dr. Hass, in the Hall of host Kneip. Proceeds for the benefit of the Gustavus Adolphus Society. Note that there is the most careful catering for both hot and cold refreshments and liquors in the Hall itself.' Availing himself of this opportunity, immediately before 'departing from home so as to set himself to learning many excellent things', he procures a ticket for the course. Hereupon there follow in a series of evenings these lectures as though taken down in shorthand, to a large extent a parody upon my *Polemik*, in the most ordinary style of a controversial preacher bawling in the market place, with the most harebrained exaggerations of Protestant objections. From the public of both sexes, such as a small country town furnishes, there is emitted from time to time an exclamation of 'Shame!' directed against Catholic 'enormities'. Moreover, some of the young women of the town fall from their seats in a swoon, but recover immediately so as not to lose any-

thing of the splendid address. A lady is seized with a severe attack of nerves ; but on the whole the speaker is rewarded by vehement applause of the guffawing and bawling type, which, on the last evening, in its enthusiasm upset tables and chairs, while in the course of the night the excited crowd gave vent to its fanaticism by outrages upon some Catholic houses : 'With a controversy of this kind no other conclusion was in keeping.'

The name of Dr. Hass is cleverly used for the popular orator, in order that in case of my putting in a complaint of a literary or legal kind that my words had been misapplied to my injury, the answer might be forthcoming that in point of fact I am not mentioned at all as the speaker, and that if nevertheless I feel myself to be aimed at, I am fitting on the cap to myself. It is not my habit to answer such attacks otherwise than through mentioning them as occasion may arise. Possibly this story may not be altogether a work of the imagination, and Heinrich von der Clana is in reality a Jesuit banished by the law of the Empire, and not of German birth ; for it is evident that he was wholly unacquainted with my personality and style, when he could think that the pleasant mask worn by Dr. Hass would suit my face. He considers 'that the storms to which the Church in Germany is subjected to-day are nothing but the practical application and the results of the philosophy of the age and of Protestant controversy directed against the Catholic Church'. Thus too is made plain his deep animosity, which is not disowned even by the addition, after Catholic custom, that 'if there be anything actually unfair in what he has said, it shall be readily retracted'.

His last section contains at the close some con-

troversial pronouncements against Protestant theologians, Rothe, Steitz, Dorner, Palmer, Gruneisen, Holtzmann (by an oversight he is called 'the prelate who has passed away from us'; his son, who is alive and hearty, is the one intended), and others, a goodly company, as one of which I am pleased to be included. A modest expression of indignation on the part of our opponent directed against an expression of my *Polemik* about Titian (vol. ii, p. 405) arose from a misunderstanding due to inattention. He is again provoked because I have called Gregory VII a 'dubious' saint (vol. ii, p. 83). It occurred first to a pope of slender fame, Benedict XII (in 1728) to dub him a saint, and since, in the Office prepared in his honour, among his services towards the Church he is commended for deposing the Emperor Henry IV, and absolving his subjects from their oath of fidelity, this Roman decree has not been recognized as the canonization of an ecclesiastical Prince by Austria, France, Venice, &c., and thus it has come to pass that neither in literature nor in popular parlance has the great seventh Gregory been understood under the saint of that name. Under these circumstances the designation, 'dubious' saint was a convenient and quite colourless one. On the other hand, Clana's objection (p. 156) commences thus: 'On this field also the palm must be awarded to Herr Hase. He has in time past read in Church history—he has himself written one—that there is said once to have lived a certain Pope, Gregory VII. In fact he was as little an historical person as was Jesus of Nazareth, but only the personification of a principle, and that principle, as we must understand, not a good one. Here and there he is even said to have been honoured as a saint, e.g. at

Salerno, where he lies buried beside the Tax-gatherer Apostle. Benedict XIII, it seems, then published a document with the title: "A formal canonization not of a person but of a principle, &c." This may be humorous, but even as humour it is yet scarcely conceivable that any one can pretend to himself that the view of an historical person as representing a definite principle does away with his historical reality. It may be that the learned Jesuit had running in his head an indistinct recollection of Strauss's *Life of Christ*, and in connexion with this my mention of the Apostle Matthew at Salerno. I cannot certainly vouch for him; but the clergy and congregation in that kindly city affirm that beside the sarcophagus which includes the mortal part of the great Pope, the other stone coffin contains the Tax-gatherer Apostle, and on one occasion I paid a pleasant visit to the place at the festival of the two local saints, and at the brilliant illumination which took place I thought how it represented the two leaders, so wholly different and yet almost equally powerful in the Catholic Church.

JENA: February 18, 1878.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH (GERMAN) EDITION

THE 'Protestant Polemik' is this long time included among the classics of our theological literature; and this honourable title will of itself justify the fact that in the new edition there has been no thought of extending the work, and only a few alterations in the notes have been silently made. Among those now living there is no one who could undertake to carry on this *Polemik* in the keen and yet conciliatory spirit of its author. We are all working on party lines, and of late years the intensification of the antithesis between Protestantism and Catholicism has much increased the difficulty of unbiased criticism on either side. Nevertheless on this side and on that the battle is fought with every kind of weapon, tempered and untempered, and still it appears as though there was no foundation for that joyful assurance with which Hase, now almost thirty years ago, bestowed (p. xxxii) upon his controversial handbook the wish that it might pass into forgetfulness, and an arch of peace extend itself over the two Churches. So too, probably, the time is still far distant when there will 'only stand here and there in a library a dusty copy of this book' (p. xxxvi); and, as things are now, we can merely venture to express a wish in this direction; for he to whom it is of consequence to obtain a real appreciation of the great matters of controversy, will probably for a long time to come seek them best in this book.

Moreover, since the year 1878 Catholic controversy has known how to bring several unmannerly and untrue charges against its opponent. There lies before me a brochure by Herr Joseph Rebbert, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Editor of the *Leo : In the Matter of Thümmel ; A Word of Enlightenment for Believers in Christ*. Paderborn, 1887. Therein mention is made of the destructive and so-called theological activity in the teaching of Hase, the denier of Christ, and he himself, not in the best of good taste, is designated as 'Trainer up of Protestant preachers to become Rabbis in the preacher's gown'. Hase read it, and gave it a good-humoured smile; nevertheless such lack in the perception of decency bears witness to the deplorable weakness of the embittered opponent.

G. KRÜGER.

GIESSEN, October, 1890.

[The brief Prefaces to the sixth and seventh editions are omitted.]

The Biblical passages quoted by von Hase are given as a rule in the words of the Revised Version. Exceptions are where the Authorized Version is nearer to the passage as quoted by him, or suits his argument better, and, again, in cases where his rendering differs substantially from our English Versions.

BOOK I
THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I

CATHOLICISM

DURING the first three centuries the Baptismal Confession, as expressed in the third paragraph of the Apostles' Creed on the Holy Ghost, sets forth for belief 'One Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints'. Experience tells us that a people's life is under the control of a spiritual force long before the need is felt for expressing in words a definite consciousness of that force, and for justifying its existence. Accordingly for wellnigh a thousand years the Catholic Church exercised its sway over the nations before the Church's theology in the person of scholastic writers had so much as framed any formal dogma concerning the Church.

In the 'Augsburg Confession'¹ the Church was defined as 'the Congregation of all faithful people, wherein the Gospel is preached in purity, and the Sacraments are administered in accordance with the Gospel'. The 'Confutation'² entered a protest against

¹ This Confession was drawn up by Melanchthon, and presented on the part of the Wittenberg Reformers to the Emperor Charles V at the Diet on June 25, 1530. It was based on the Schwabach Articles, which had been compiled in the previous year, and was distinctly Lutheran and anti-Zwinglian in tone, aiming at adherence, so far as was possible, to existing standards of the Western Church. It is important, as suggesting to Continental Reformers the shape of later Confessions, while it exercised a powerful and direct influence upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church. It may be found at length in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, Oxford. For its tone and aim see Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, Cambridge, 1859, or the *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 211, Cambridge, 1903.

² It was drawn up by Johann Eck and other leading theologians on the Roman side, and was presented a few weeks later than the Confession

this, as suspecting that it was a renewal of the Husite¹ doctrine that it was only those who belonged to the Church that were predestined to salvation. It was, however, explicitly stated in the 'Confession' that the Sacraments were efficacious, even when administered by evil men, and the 'Apology'², referring to this, admits that 'hypocrites and wicked men belong also to the Church as regards outward membership'.

The Council of Trent³, or, in other words, according to the tacit assumption which that Council invariably made, *the Church itself*, speaking with full powers, nevertheless avoided any formal definition concerning the Church, and such was for the first time put out by the Roman 'Catechism'⁴. According to this document the Church triumphant embraces the glorified departed, while the Church militant here on earth contains good and evil alike in a fellowship which is one as regards the profession of belief and the Sacraments, and only differs in the degree in which the life conforms to the profession. It is one and undivided, universal, apostolic, holy, infallible, the only way of salvation, and its visible head is the Pope. This conception of the Church has had its development in Catholic theology, viz. the institution ordained by the God-Man for all nations, and committed under the guidance of His Spirit to the uninter-

of Augsburg. Its statements show some slight traces of the modifying influence of the Reformers' protests.

¹ Johann Hus was burnt alive as a heretic near Constance, July 6, 1415.

² The title of a document which the Lutheran divines shortly afterwards presented in answer to the 'Confutation'. Its tone is decidedly more aggressive than that of the 'Confession'.

³ See p. 19.

⁴ This Catechism was drawn up under the supervision of three Cardinals, and published for the first time, with the authority of Pope Pius V, in 1566.

rupted continuity of the Apostolate for the training in religion of all baptized persons, and for the happiness in the next world of all the faithful.

This Church, though having, of course, its local limitations, is no less extensive than the sun's course. As she has civilized savage nations, and has taken her share in developing the science and art of modern days, so, too, she has given birth to many martyrs and saints. She has shown her gracious personality here in princely dignity, there in voluntary poverty, as the Virgin Bride of Christ, and the gentle Mother of the faithful, to whom she is the guarantee of divine truth and eternal salvation ; while all the time she possesses something which satisfies the imagination, calms the spirit, and guards purity of life.

Nevertheless, it was the grievous darkness and depravity of this Church that brought about the event, which, even in the mouths of its opponents, has acquired the name of the Reformation. For the curing of those conspicuous vices of hers a rending of the Church was not necessary. In the Roman Church itself they have been to a large extent removed, although not till men were face to face with a defection actually existent and threatening to spread. The Reformers did not contemplate any such defection, least of all Luther, who was deeply attached to the Church of his fathers. But when he saw that the abuses, whose removal he called for, were still supported by the permanent ecclesiastical authorities, when anathemas from Rome confronted what, he was convinced, it was his duty to carry out in the name of that Master Whom he loved, then he concluded that it was not a defection from the true Church to renounce the Roman Antichrist and his enormities.

Inasmuch as he had the support of the largest and most influential portion of his nation, at that time the most powerful in the world, while other nations speedily followed suit, he could easily have said, 'We are the true Catholic Church, and the Pope's followers the heretics'. Then it would only have been the case of a schism such as took place between the Greek and Roman Churches, each putting forth like claims to be the one way of salvation. That the matter was not confined to these limits was in part owing to the fact that the professors in Wittenberg and the pastors in Zurich and Geneva were unable to appeal in support of their tenets to an uninterrupted succession of Bishops, reaching back to the time of the Apostles ; but the paramount cause was that there thrust itself upon their view, half unconsciously to themselves, a new aspect of Christianity, of which they had become the supporters. In this connexion Luther's saying is significant, 'God has led me hither like a horse whose eyes have been blinded'.

Against the power, still vast, of the Church in possession and its claims consecrated, as they were, by centuries, the Reformers invoked Heaven in reliance on the eternal claim involved in the conception which they cherished. The spirit of the new development spoke through them to the Pope's following. 'It is not we, not you,' they said, 'that are the true Church, as Christ has willed it to be. This kingdom of God, which, with its fullness of divine truth and its fullness of righteousness and devotion, aims at the inclusion of the whole of mankind, is an idea which broods over universal history, while only realizing itself gradually and in various shapes. Our claim consists in this, that we have delivered Christendom from the darkness in

which you have enveloped it, and that we have drawn nearer to this idea.'

Thus arose 'Protestantism'; *the word*, inasmuch as a bold protest at the Diet of Speyer that, in matters of conscience, majorities are not conclusive, and that no human utterance can cry halt to the victorious advances of truth, went on to receive a higher and wider application; *the idea* itself, through the mistaken conception of an *invisible* Church (a title up to that time applied only to the Church triumphant beyond the grave), which lies beneath the visible, apparent Church, and, itself permanent, determines its worth; its *essence*, the distinction between each *actual* historical Church and that *ideal* Church, the former corresponding more or less, but never absolutely, to the latter. Thus Luther says: 'We believe in a holy Church, for it is invisible. It dwells in the heart, a spot whither no one can come. The Article of the Creed says, "I believe in a Holy Church", not, "I see a Holy Church." If you judge after the outward appearance, you will see that the Church is sinful and frail, for she has in herself no righteousness, but only in Christ Who is her Head. In this *belief* I see her holiness' (the reality thus not answering to the idea). 'I believe that there is one Holy Church upon earth, and that this is not only the one which acknowledges the Pope, but is, as far as its visible aspect is concerned, dispersed through all the world, among Turks, Persians, Tartars, everywhere, yet spiritually gathered under one Head, which is Jesus Christ.' A misjudged contemporary of Luther, who had a breach with him, the witty soap-boiler, Sebastian Franck¹, nicknamed by Luther the

¹ B. circ. 1499 at Donauwörth in Bavaria; d. circ. 1542: a mystical writer on the Protestant side.

Devil's foul-mouthed darling, has expressed the same belief as his ideal aim, inasmuch as he did not find himself at home either in the ancient or the new Church : 'The Church is not a kind of separate congeries of elements, and a religious body demonstrable to the senses, held together by component parts, by time, by persons, and by place, but a spiritual invisible body, consisting of all the members of Christ, born of God, and united in one mind, spirit, and belief, but not externally in one place. I have my membership and share in this ; towards it I yearn, and believe in this Communion of Saints.' It was through the antagonistic principle that the conception of Catholicity, existing up to this time only as a fact, and a potent one, began, though at first only in the view of its opponents, to take the clear form of the assertion that the idea of *the* Church on the one hand and this definite Church of Rome on the other, with all its essential attributes, are absolutely conterminous, and accordingly that that Church is in every age the complete and exclusive presentation of Christianity. It is only on this hypothesis that there can be made apparent the claim which she cherishes to eject every one who persistently gainsays the decision which she pronounces and to hold him as thereby ejected from the favour of God.

While the new Church, in the face of the old one continuing alongside of it, based its claim on the severance between the idea and the reality, it was willing freely to acknowledge, although the rancour of the combat seldom allowed this to find expression in words, that in the Roman Church also there existed true Christianity. Luther wrote : 'We acknowledge that under the Papacy much that is Christlike and good, nay, all that is Christlike and good exists, and has been transmitted thereby

to us, viz. genuine Holy Writ, valid Baptism, the valid Sacrament of the altar, the valid power of the keys for the forgiveness of sins, a valid ministry of the Word. I say that under the Pope is to be found the real Christendom, yea, the crowning feature of Christendom, and many pious and distinguished saints.' His passion, it is true, availed so essentially to modify this view that no good accrued to the Pope therefrom, for in the forefront of all this stands the fact that he is the Antichrist, as being the one who, instead of using, aims at the injury of, all this blessing that the Church bestows. From this point of view Luther says in the Articles of Smalcald¹: 'We do not grant to them that they are the Church, and in point of fact they are not so.' There still, however, remained as the possession of Protestantism, so far as it understood itself, the whole soul-inspiring contemplation of ecclesiastical antiquity with its martyrs and saints, and at the same time communion in heart with all pious Christians of the Catholic Church both of East and West, so far as each exhibited in himself the ideal Church. On the other hand, the more the nations of Europe fell away from the Church of Rome, the more illiberality of spirit did that Church display, bestowing, as she did, in due course, upon these the Church's curse, and restricting the blessings of Christendom within the narrow limits of those who recognize the supreme apostolic claims of the Pope. In the end, membership in an ideal Church must of course also justify itself outwardly in the life, while existing as a

¹ Schmalkalden, a town in the province of Hesse-Nassau, gave its name to (a) the League of Smalcald (1529-31), in support of Protestantism and political independence against the Emperor Charles V, and (b) the above-named Articles, submitted by Luther to a meeting of electors, princes, and States in 1537.

Christlike temper in the inmost heart. Protestantism accordingly took for itself the liberty, which no human ecclesiastical authority can rightly claim, to exclude from the ideal Church, and consequently from communion with Christ Himself; a liberty which is of course not conceivable without an historically existent Church, although it is not of necessity conditioned by any particular form or ecclesiastical law.

Protestantism is, like its ecclesiastical opposite, a principle. That principle lies at the basis of the 'Augsburg Confession', for only so far as the youthful Church is a community of the faithful, only so far as the Gospel is rightly taught in her and the Sacraments duly administered, has she a share in the ideal Church. She is, as the 'Apology' adds, in her essence a union of intelligence and faith within the heart. Theologians on the papal side forthwith pointed out that in that case the stress is laid upon the subjective element. The 'Apology' sets itself to meet the censure therein contained, a censure which found some justification in Luther's earlier enthusiastic appeal from the existing Church to the disposition of the individual filled with the Holy Ghost. For it adds, 'Yet we dream of no Platonic State, according to the godless sneer of some, but we say that this Church exists, viz. the truly faithful and righteous, scattered over the whole earth.' Thus it is not merely those who belong to the reformed Church. It is forthwith added that it must be remembered that this Church also has tokens by which to recognize it, 'the pure teaching of the Gospel and the Sacraments'. It must, however, be admitted that it still remains undefined, wherein this purity consists, and, if it be granted that truly faithful and righteous persons are found also

in the Church which is characterized by the less pure Gospel, it is thereby in the last resort brought down to something subjective, as to which only the individual consciousness, or, rather, only the Almighty Himself can decide whether, and how far, any individual is a member of the true, ideal Church, that Kingdom of God which is within us. Recognizing this, Bellarmine¹ has set forth as the distinction between the Protestant and the Romish view that the former demands internal qualities for membership in the true Church, while the Roman Church only asks for external tokens. If this were taken without reserve, and the true Church were as perceptible by the senses as was, e.g. the Republic of Venice, it would inevitably follow that we regard Christianity as merely something external, which has its being only in external actions and ceremonies, and therefore may in its turn become extinct, even as the above-named republic did.

Moreover, in the more recent Catholic theology the Protestant conception of an ideal Church has still failed to be understood. This has resulted from the refusal to recognize the continuous and necessary realization of that ideal, both in the lives of individual believers and in the various historically existing Churches, and this, too, even after conformity with the Will of Christ was manifested in them. After all the ideal involves an overlapping element, and one that is incapable of being completely included in any palpable form. When at last Möhler² got hold of this conception, it was only in the indistinct form occasioned by

¹ Roberto Bellarmino, b. 1542, d. 1621; an Italian Cardinal and Jesuit controversialist.

² Johann Adam Möhler, b. 1796, d. 1838, a German Roman Catholic theologian. His *Symbolik*, published in 1832, sets forth a somewhat fantastic system of theology.

the popular notion attaching to an invisible Church. 'The Catholics teach that the visible Church comes first, then the invisible; the former is the source of the latter.' The Lutherans say, on the contrary, 'Out of the invisible there arises the visible, which is based upon it. In this apparently quite insignificant antithesis is really expressed an enormous difference.' Möhler, by placing the invisible Church simply in the Christlike disposition, would involve Protestantism in the absurdity of desiring faith without preaching, the unseen quality without the external instrumentality. We might just as easily throw it in the teeth of Catholicism that it desires a preaching which is not the outcome of belief, and that, according to its way of thinking, Christ must, before all else, have set up the Church with Pope, Cardinals, and States of the Church, and must have promised salvation to those of its communion exclusively; whereas He did not concern Himself in any degree about all these externals, and pronounced as blessed only the pious disposition and its outcome in the way of moral conduct. The kingdom of God, founded by Him, comes not with outward observation, so that one can say, 'Lo, here! or, there! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you' (Luke xvii. 21).

But *this* antithesis is not an absolute one. Rather it represents a *tendency* of the Catholic Church, especially in the prosecution of its missionary activity, to establish first the external Church and to impart its outward characteristics, while the missionary energy of Protestantism takes more account of the conversion of men's hearts. Nevertheless, while the former trusts that the Church, as outwardly founded, will, in the course of time, also transform the hearts of its mem-

bers, so it is the hope of the latter that out of the converted there may also spring up an external Church, and thus both Church methods may be combined, and a mutual relation arise of the inner and the outer, or, if the expression be preferred, of the invisible and the visible Church. Supposing that we were to take the case of marriage, as an illustration, according to the Catholic view the external consummation of the rite would be the main thing, while the mutual attraction would then easily follow. According to the Protestant view the marriage would arise out of the mutual attraction. In actual life both are to be found, the former predominating among the Latin, and the latter among the Teutonic nations, and it should be added that both may result in disaster.

The actual antagonism is simply caused through the relation of the reality to the idea. Protestantism confesses that even its own Church only *strives* after this idea, without having completely realized it. This is merely the common fate of everything human, and consequently needs no demonstration. Its power consists in belief in the power of the ideal. Genuine ideas are not so powerless as to be incapable of being realized, but only in the course of generations and through the mighty agency of history, and even then never in their infinite fullness. From the relationship of the realization, as being merely progressive and historical, to the idea itself, it further results that the realization does not present itself only in one form or in one phase of development. Thus Protestantism at the very outset presented a realization of the Church in two fashions, the bitter contentions between which failed to answer to the idea, and were fated to bring about a disastrous check in its victorious progress.

On the other hand, they brought to light from the start its wealth of meaning in the variety of its ecclesiastical forms. As against this result, Catholicism had to demonstrate, by means of definite promises from heaven, and their fulfilment in actualities, that its Church was exempted from the common human destiny to which we have just referred. Christ has promised His Church that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her¹, and that He will abide with her evermore²; but this promise was not given to the Church of Rome as such, and so little does the promise involve an immediate exaltation above the imperfections of man's condition, that we find our Lord giving it in the time of His presence on earth in the circle of the Apostles. If His injunction is, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect'³, who does not fall back in humility before the limitless character of this command, and confess with St. Paul, speaking on his own behalf as on that of the Church, 'Not that I have already obtained, or am already made perfect: but I press on, if so be that I may apprehend' (Phil. iii. 12)? Christ has set forth in the Gospel of His Divine Kingdom an ideal of perfect love toward God and man, having its foundation in Himself, not in the expectation that the world would translate it into a reality, but confident that it is powerful enough, in the progressive overcoming of all opposing influences, to render itself ever more and more of a reality. Whether this process requires eighteen centuries or eighteen millenniums will, in the sight of God, make no great difference. Meanwhile we continue to pray, 'Thy kingdom come!'

On the other hand, the identification of the Church

¹ Matt. xvi. 18.

² Ib. xxviii. 20.

³ Ib. v. 48.

which appeals to the senses with its ideal, is in truth a noble illusion on the part of enthusiasm which failed to take account of the binding conditions of real life. Nevertheless, it is an illusion, which has come to look on the *ideal* as an *idol*. Of that illusion the egotism of a spiritual pride speedily avails itself for the purpose of overthrowing everything that is at variance with this Church as being presumably perfect, claiming plenary powers, and almost on a level with God Himself. In like fashion the illusion of enthusiastic youth is sometimes exploited by calculating age.

Inasmuch as, according to this, the Catholic Church refuses to recognize another Church alongside of it, it refuses on principle to admit any consciousness of idiosyncrasies as differentiating it from other Churches. It has from the first based its enormous claims upon its attributes. It was through those attributes in fact (to wit, through the assertion of its unity and infallibility, and that outside its limits there is no salvation) that its warranty had to obtain recognition, while the weight of facts tended in the other direction, and absolutely forbid any arrival at a clear and firm perception of a conformity between the reality and the idea.

Holiness also, as the ethical perfection of the Church, is numbered among these attributes, but about this one the Catholic Church has always taken a Protestant view; in other words, she has simply said that in the Church lies the ethical power to lead her faithful members to a continually pure standard of morality, and to recover herself from every moral declension. In fact, she could not say otherwise. Christ's prediction, that tares should grow up among the wheat, had been too explicit. The desire in the early days of the

Church to divert Catholic principles in this direction had made itself too sharply conspicuous among rival sects, who would not submit to the presence of any but pure hearts among them. The dominant Church herself was at one time too deeply depraved in point of morals, and that in all her offices without exception, for her to venture on pretending that this Christlike idea, moral perfection, was already realized in actual life. In this respect the Catholic Church, like the Protestant, has remained true to her vocation as an institution for the rescue of poor sinners. In fact, cautious Catholics have no difficulty in admitting that, speaking generally, Protestant nations are, in point of morals, on a higher, and Catholic nations on a lower, level than their Church's faith. It is a genuinely Catholic expression of opinion to which St. Francis de Sales gave utterance, when he said, 'There are good Catholics who are very bad Christians'. Möhler¹, however, avers with reference to this question of morals, 'We all have erred; it is the Church alone which cannot err: we all have sinned; she alone upon earth is immaculate'. But, surely, such a Church as this, distinct from all its members and not adequately presented in any real or tangible entity, is none other than our 'ideal Church', a mental conception, in the face of which, and in accordance with facts that cannot be impeached, all members of the Church are depreciated in value as sadly defective, and in particular those in authority, from the Pope to the humblest train-bearer of a Cardinal, as having been at times utterly depraved.

The consequence at once deduced from the antagonism in principle between the two systems is that Catholicism makes the relation of the individual to

¹ See p. 11.

Christ to depend upon his relation to the Church, for to him she is the complete and exclusive representative of Christianity. Protestantism conversely makes the relation of the individual to the Church to depend upon his relation to Christ. Accordingly the Catholic Church, as claiming to be the complete realization of the idea, primarily gives an outward expression to her Christianity. She does this in her striving after worldly power and by rejoicing in a splendid ritual. She does it withal in the voluntary renunciation of everything sensual. Protestantism represents Christianity primarily in its inward aspect as a spiritual thing. Its Church realizes the forecast of the Psalmist, 'All the glory of the king's daughter is within'¹. Earnest-minded Catholics have found the weakness of the Protestant Church of the present age to consist in a disintegrating tendency, but disintegration is a natural tendency of this Church. Accordingly Catholicism, which openly asserts an unconditional authority, is the Christianity of unconditional obedience. Protestantism, as existing in a Church which is only at strife within itself, is the Christianity of individual liberty. In its essence lies the combination of Christlike piety and spiritual freedom. Where it maintains both these as powers of like validity, it is powerful, invincible; where, on the contrary, the one or the other is impaired, forthwith, confused and insecure in itself, it is put to hard shifts to resist Catholicism. In this connexion the examples of two Churchmen have always been regarded as models; the one, Fénelon², when he

¹ Ps. xlv. 13. It should be noted that the original Hebrew does not justify this translation. The meaning is (as in the R.V.) 'The king's daughter within (margin, in the inner part of) the palace is all glorious.'

² François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, b. 1651, abp. of Cambrai,

at once readily submits himself to the Pope's sentence, albeit not understood, and in his judgement arbitrary and unjust; the other, Luther, when in the presence of the highest ecclesiastical and civil authorities, he confidently takes up his position on the side of God and his conscience: 'Here I stand; I can do nought else; God help me!'¹

Every student of history knows that by means of the Protestant Reformation the Church of Rome herself was rescued in respect of morals and forced to her own reformation. The hierarchy, which for centuries had frustrated over and over again that reformation of the Church, that was long looked for and demanded by the nations, now recognized that it was only by laying new foundations in religion and morality that their Church could prove itself equal to the great conflict. To the Council of Trent² belongs the credit of carrying legally into effect this reformation within the Catholic Church; but in their anxiety to prevent the introduction of Protestant elements, while they excluded much that had been hitherto undefined and permissible to hold, and moreover uttered anathemas against the Protestant Confessions, they rendered the quarrel between the two Churches for the first time irreconcilable. We may assert without boasting, and are pleased to recognize the fact, that the Catholic Church has won much in this

d. 1715, a celebrated French prelate, orator, and author. His book in defence of Madame Guyon, a mystical writer, was at the instigation of Madame de Maintenon and Bossuet, bp. of Meaux, condemned as containing no less than twenty-three heretical propositions. Fénelon made an unconditional retraction.

¹ Luther's famous words addressed to the Diet at Worms (1521), before which he had been summoned to stand on his defence.

² Usually considered to be the eighteenth ecumenical Council held (with several prorogations and suspensions) at Trent in the Tyrol, 1545-63. Its decrees were confirmed by Pope Pius IV in 1564.

contest. Nevertheless she has also lost much, viz. as was perceived and lamented by Erasmus¹ in his day, the free Protestant spirit which she had beforetime unhesitatingly carried within her, and by means of which the Councils of Constance² and Basel³, although acting in days of grave corruptions, which the papal section hindered them in their attempts to remove, are honourably distinguished from the servile majority at Trent and at the Vatican⁴.

A. Unity

The unity of the Church is only its Catholicity from another point of view, and both combined form the original conception of the word Catholic.

Christ on the occasion of His departure only prayed that those who were His might be one in His Heavenly Father and Himself⁵. St. Paul set store by the unity of the faith and of Baptism, yet merely as a unity of spirit underlying manifold gifts, an abolition of all distinctions, whether of country, of condition, or of sex, in oneness with Christ⁶. The Church of the Apostles consisted in a series of independent congregations, which to the utmost of their power proved their oneness in spirit by mutual hospitality and help, and by a willing recognition of apostolic authority, while nevertheless a

¹ See p. 71.

² A. D. 1414-18. One of its main objects was to heal the papal schism. It condemned Hus, also Jerome of Prague, and elected Martin V as Pope.

³ The last of three great reforming Councils of the fifteenth century (Pisa, Constance, Basel), 1431-49. It was called by Pope Martin V and his successor Eugenius IV. It had among its main objects the union of the Greek and Latin Churches and the reformation of the Church. It deposed Pope Eugenius IV, who refused to acknowledge its authority, and elected in his stead Felix V.

⁴ In 1870.

⁵ John xvii. 20 ff.

⁶ 1 Cor. xii. 4, Gal. iii. 28, Eph. iv. 5.

Christian synagogue and a universal religion as taught by St. Paul stood over against each other sometimes in mutual tolerance, sometimes ominously in conflict. An instance of the one is the recognition of St. Paul by the Apostles of the circumcision at Jerusalem, and of the other, his conflict with St. Peter at Antioch¹.

The ideal oneness of the kingdom of God strove to attain its realization in the Church. In point of fact in the second and third century an agreement having its sources in congregations of apostolic origin had been arrived at in drawing up a short summary of the Christian faith. Hence arose the idea of a great or Catholic Church, which, as spread over the Roman Empire, and already in anticipation over the whole world, formed the safeguard of Christianity before it broke away into innumerable sects, some lacking the 'proportion of the faith', others actually antagonistic to it. Owing to the newborn favour of the imperial authority the Church, it is true, succeeded in actually presenting itself at the first general Council at Nicaea² in the character of a society, a State Church; nevertheless it was to that Council also that we can trace the germs of its subsequent divisions arising out of the strict definition of its belief in the Son of God. For a while an Arian³ Church waged a long and indecisive conflict with that of Nicaea for the upper hand in the Roman Empire, until towards the end of the fourth century the former, defeated in that quarter, acquired new strength among the victorious Teutonic races. While, however,

¹ Gal. ii. 7-11.

² A. D. 325. Nicaea was a town in Bithynia, fifty-eight miles south-east of Constantinople, and is the modern Isnik.

³ Called after Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who maintained that the Second Person of the Trinity was of a nature similar to (not the same as) the Father. He died suddenly A.D. 336.

these were gradually won over by the superior culture and truth of the Church of the Roman Empire, the Eastern Church was split up by continuous disputes on the part of a series of what passed for general Councils as to the accurate defining of the conception of the God-Man. The first ground of separation was the error arising either by excess or defect in the ground covered by the terms which were used to express the mysterious union of the two natures. This error died out with lapse of time as regards the consciousness of the separated bodies of Christians; but, owing to the formation of distinct customs and to an historical life so completely different, the animosity of the severance has perpetuated itself from generation to generation to the present day.

The Western Church, it is true, remained in the unity of the faith as defined by the Councils of the Greek Empire, but inasmuch as in the former the bishopric of Rome had attained to monarchical authority, and desired also to extend this over the Eastern Church, an estrangement was set up between them. Consequently, after a century's long squabbling on subjects intelligible or otherwise, a difference of custom and opinion as to the use of some dough had the effect in the eleventh century of severing permanently under mutual anathemas the Eastern and Western Churches, each maintaining in like terms and with like support from history that it was the sole Catholic Church¹.

The reunion of the two has frequently been essayed,

¹ The schism was consummated by a solemn decree of excommunication issued by Pope Leo IX in 1054, and returned by Michael Caerularius, patriarch of Constantinople. The use of unleavened bread in the Holy Communion was one of the charges brought by the Easterns against the Westerns.

on the side of Rome, under the inspiration of the idea of a single Church over which it should bear rule; on the side of the Greek Church, in order to obtain military aid against the Turks. When at length at the Council of Florence¹ an ingenious formula of union was agreed upon with the chief dignitaries of the Greek Church and Empire, the exultation with which Eugenius IV announced this union has in it an element of pathos: 'Shout, ye heavens, and exult, O earth! The wall of partition has fallen, that divided the Eastern from the Western Church. Joy and harmony have returned; for Christ the Corner-stone, Who has made both one, unites them with the bond of everlasting unity, and after the thick black darkness of a severance of many years' standing the brightness of a much desired unity again illuminates all. Our Mother the Church rejoices that it has been granted her to see her sons, hitherto at strife, once more living in peace. She, who sometime during the schism wept bitter tears, may now thank God in infinite joy by reason of this fair accord. All the faithful throughout the wide earth, all who call themselves by the name of Christ, may bring felicitations to their Mother, the Catholic Church, and may rejoice with her!'

Nevertheless it was only a vision of unity. This concession to the 'Latins', this subjection to the successors of St. Peter, was spurned with abhorrence by the Easterns, both people and priesthood. They preferred subjection to the Turks.

Then took place the great schism of the Protestants. That it came to this was a fact for which each party laid the blame on its opponent. Another than Luther might well have carried the thing through more

¹ A.D. 1439 (opening at Ferrara in 1438).

smoothly, but also might perhaps have sacrificed himself for it to no purpose as so many had done before him. It is possible that a more judicial mode of action on the part of Luther and more of readiness to remove abuses, would at that time have laid the storm, and we can understand the admonition of the prince-bishop Diepenbrock 'to endure the religious dissensions, viewing them as the penalty for common offences'. But the contending parties were both only the unconscious agents in bringing about a new aspect of Christendom which some day would have had to disclose itself. Even Rome can make up her mind to contemplate defections, her only comfort to repeat what St. Cyprian¹ had written concerning sects of very transitory character and dubious claim to be called Christian: 'They do not divide the Church, but only themselves from the Church.' New conditions came into operation in the shape of powerful and highly cultivated races and peoples in Europe and America. More particularly, in the numerous body which formed the German secession a theology developed itself, with which the training of Catholic seminaries strove, but with difficulty, to cope, and moreover there sprang up a philosophy and literature which bore sway over men's intelligence. It was preposterous to regard this as merely a dissenting sect. The Catholic Church itself had only the aspect of one party face to face with another, one Church face to face with another, and she can at best say what Aeneas Sylvius² said, before he was Pope, of the Catholic faith: 'It is called universal, not because all have it, but because all ought to have it.'

Thus then the oneness of the Catholic Church has

¹ See p. 31.

² Enea Silvio Piccolomini, b. 1405, d. as Pope Pius II, 1464.

never gained the sphere of the actual in the sense of an all-embracing community, but has remained merely an ideal after which to strive. The Protestant conception of the Church thus regarded has forced itself by the power of undeniable facts upon the Catholic view.

The Church of Rome, it is true, in its private circles exercises greater power than the Protestant in maintaining a settled unity, just as everywhere it is easier to manage people who are in bondage and accustomed to submission than it is to rule nations possessed of freedom. It should be remembered, however, that this unity was only preserved at the expense of the all-embracing character, in other words, of this Catholicity, in that the portions of the Church which became disunited were thrown off. Moreover a unity bought with such sacrifices seems itself to be by no means free from disturbing elements. As early as the Middle Ages monastic orders and schools of scholastic divinity carried on just as hot contests among themselves as any parties whatsoever within the Protestant Church. A *liberal* Catholicism, which itself contained the germ of Protestantism, and earnestly desired a reformation of the Church, to that end recognizing the necessity of limiting the papal power, had developed itself at the great Councils of the fifteenth century in opposition to the kind called in Germany *ultramontane*¹. The latter held the autocracy of the Pope to be essential, the Church to be incapable of improvement, and any composition with the enhanced civilization of the nations to be sinful. The two were long engaged in mutual strife. The immediate result of the reformation actually effected outside the Church of Rome was necessarily a victory for Ultramontanism, inasmuch as it was at one

¹ Beyond the mountains, i. e. south of the Alps.

with the crafty and valiant enemy of all Protestantism, viz. the Jesuit power. We have seen both aspects of Catholicism represented personally, and as a consequence of the circumstances of the time, upon the papal throne, when, on the one hand, Clement XIV pronounced the final dissolution of the Jesuit Order, because, 'so long as it continued, it was impossible that the Church could attain to a genuine lasting peace'; and, on the other, Pius VII re-established the same order 'at the unanimous prayer of the Christian world'¹.

So bitter is the animosity, at least on the part of those who regard themselves as genuine Catholics, that no profit accruing to the Church is great enough to secure either forgiveness for the tendency towards freedom, or the gentle treatment of those who are its friends. The complaint of the pious bishop of Passau is easily intelligible, how Catholic associations secretly menaced him, and his own flock rose up against him, because he would not gratify their fanaticism. How highly popular was the provost of the collegiate church at Munich², and deservedly so as the most learned and intellectual spokesman of Catholicism! But, as soon as he uttered a caution in presence of the overweening attitude of the Papacy, with what hatred and scorn was he condemned in the Romish camp! Any one who had the opportunity of examining at all closely the Vatican Council of our day, is most unlikely to obtain a lofty conception of the *unity* of the Church of Rome. Its highest official representatives were there to be seen ranged in two hostile camps, the Pope terming the bishops of the opposing party, and

¹ The 'Order of Jesus', so named by Ignatius Loyola, who founded it in 1534, was suppressed in 1773, and re-established in 1814.

² See p. 62.

among them princes of the Church of high reputation, his enemies, rebels and traitors to the Church, and these complaining that an obstinate narrow-minded old man, ruled by Jesuits, was driving her over a precipice.

Thus the Church of Rome is compelled on principle to regard the whole of the Eastern and Protestant Churches, and even its own learned men and dignitaries, who are unable perchance from religious scruples to subscribe to a new dogma, as nothing but a collection of deserters and rebels, which she would take back, if repentant, or punish for being recalcitrant, had she the power, as a master might a runaway slave. Protestantism's way of viewing the matter, in accordance with her principles, does not merely share St. Augustine's belief that in the enemies of the Church are hidden her future citizens. Much rather does she see in the different Churches only the more or less incomplete realizations of the ideal Church, and knows that therein she is associated with all those who anywhere have their portion in Christ. On the one hand, therefore, there is the stunting of unity in the contracted limits of a papal chapel, on the other the unity in spirit, spreading itself out into genuine Catholicity. This is already attained by every unprejudiced soul, whether it direct its gaze outwards, especially in the direction of Mohammedanism, or inwards, thus confronting the anti-Christian spirit shown in the denial of the existence of God and soul, so rife in our days. This consciousness of a universal Christianity with common Christian interests at once comes to be felt and approves itself through a common type of Christian training, even where this community as regards things fundamental is mainly shown forth in mutual contention and rivalry.

While then the kingdom of God, thus regarded, is in *idea* unified as one family of God, Protestantism further believes in the realization some day of the oneness and universality of the Church. To this end, however, as the 'Augsburg Confession' already remarks, external unity is by no means needful, particularly identity in human decisions and ceremonies. Moreover, it is not essential that there should be one form of government, especially the rule of one earthly head—a form which, in spite of new methods of communication, is ever growing more burdensome from considerations of distance, according as Christendom, in conformity with its own definition, continues to extend itself over the whole globe and among nations in such different stages of civilization. All that is required is that the manifold organizations contained in the one Church should recognize themselves as included in the Christian community. Then, too, will the Protestant Church cease to exist as such, namely, on that day when it shall have no more need of protesting against a Church which claims to be sole ruler, and presumably alone authoritative. Then, and not till then, shall the prediction be fulfilled: one Shepherd (in heaven above, with His Spirit upon earth) and one flock¹.

B. Infallibility

The infallibility of the Church, i.e. the attribute by which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, she is at all times the possessor of complete religious truth, at any rate in matters of faith, and declares the same, so far as is needful, without admixture of human error, is merely a consequence of the principle that in this

¹ See John x. 16.

definite Romish community the ideal and the actual Church are conterminous. It is, however, the foundation of Catholicism, on which the whole structure rests. For the unconditional authority which the Church claims, the unconditional certainty which she promises, and the unconditional devotion which on the side of the faithful corresponds to this, are only justified in an infallible Church. Apart from belief in this, the faithful are at once thrown back upon the Holy Scriptures as the sole trustworthy monument of primitive Christianity, and upon the private judgement of the individual thinker. Their knowledge of complete religious truth is in that case restricted to the ideal Church, their actual Church giving only what is necessary to salvation, and that mingled with human error. Such an attitude, however, is no longer Catholic, it is Protestantism, which puts its trust in the Holy Ghost, that in the course of time He will lead the Church into all truth.

To the realization of that infallibility appertains a definite, recognized instrument which, whenever the Church is disturbed by doubts or contentions in matters of faith, sets forth without possibility of deception what the Christian verity is. It follows that this instrument must be the very highest authority in the Church, inasmuch as it is autocratic in respect of faith. Further, it must be single, for two separate instruments speaking with the same authority would be in danger of neutralizing each other by contradictory statements. This could only be avoided by their being always certain to say the same thing, and by their thus being only two mouths to the same instrument.

It was not till lately that the influence of conflicting

facts and interests permitted an ecclesiastical decision, but never a unanimous acceptance *in foro conscientiae*, with respect to this fundamental conception of Catholicism, the infallibility of the Church and its instrument.

In the first three centuries the Church contained a maze of sects, in which Christianity threatened to be extinguished, vanquished by the appeal for a simple rule of faith as transmitted from the Apostles. There was as yet no organ of infallibility; but the trustworthiness and the essential unanimity of some communities, tracing their descent from apostolic times in the maintenance of this rule of faith, as well as its inherent vitality, took the place of infallibility, a dim consciousness of which already existed, although the formulas embodying such a rule still fluctuated. The bishops and other ecclesiastical teachers were not accounted infallible, but as faithful witnesses to tradition and learned expositors of the Scriptures.

From that time down to the seventh century the great Greek Councils of the Roman Empire were *de iure*, and pretty much *de facto* as well, the highest authority in the Church, and in them the conception of infallibility was developed as that which from ancient times had been established and was of unbroken permanence. This view had been already set forth by the General Council of Chalcedon¹: 'We will permit neither ourselves nor others to overstep even by so much as a syllable what our fathers at Nicaea determined, mindful of the saying, "Remove not the landmarks which thy fathers have set,"² For it was not they who spake there, but the Spirit of God Himself.'

¹ A.D. 451: the fourth ecumenical Council. The three preceding were Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431).

² See Prov. xxii. 28.

Gregory the Great¹ gave it as his judgement concerning the four ecumenical Councils which were recognized as 'General' in his time : ' I esteem them as I do the four Gospels.' Naturally it was the case that no existing Synod forthwith esteemed itself infallible. How little could the one which was in later time held in honour above all, the Council of Nicaea, hold such a view, when, as the earliest Church historian readily confesses, it was only with reluctance that the majority acquiesced in the emperor's desire, and its decree concerning the faith hovered for more than half a century between acceptance and rejection ! But it was the ecumenical Councils, when lifted above the turmoil of factions and clothed in the glory of antiquity, which presented themselves to posterity with this glamour, that was bound accordingly in due course to descend on each occasion upon the later representative assemblies of the entire Church.

Amid the fluctuating importance ascribed to Synods of the Roman Empire and of the world, it was only very gradually that those which were afterwards named ecumenical were distinguished, as possessing a claim to this characteristic, from other Synods of greater or less compass. The assertion on their behalf of a supernatural dignity in the opinion of religious conservatism could appeal to the so-called apostolic Council, which issued its decision as something which 'seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us', viz. to the Apostles, elders, and the whole community at Jerusalem². But the Holy Ghost sharing here in the

¹ Gregory I, surnamed the Great, b. circ. B.C. 540, d. as Pope, 604. He sent St. Augustine, accompanied by forty monks, to convert or reconvert England to Christianity. Next to Leo I (440-61) he was the greatest of the ancient bishops of Rome.

² Acts xv. 28.

decision only denotes Christian opinion in reliance upon the aid of the Spirit promised by Christ and working in the Church. St. Cyprian was the first who sought to throw a supernatural lustre over the Council which he held, along with the bishops of Africa, to oppose an assertion of Rome¹: 'This is our pleasure, in accordance with the prompting of the Holy Spirit, and the Lord has exhorted us thereto through many visions.' Yet, how far he is from obtruding the decision in question upon other dioceses! 'This we notify,' he writes to the bishop of Rome, 'in the belief that, in accord with the verity of thy Christian faith, what is alike true and faithful will also find favour with thee. Moreover, we know that some are unwilling to lay aside that to which they are once accustomed, without prejudice, however, to the existence of peace between colleagues and to the bonds of concord. For we desire not to use compulsion towards any one or to lay down a law, since each bishop possesses his own liberty in the government of the Church, and is accountable for his actions only to the Lord.' We perceive what is merely an edifying expression of Christian assurance in the formula of the Council of Arles² with regard to its decisions, that they have been framed 'in the presence of the Holy Ghost and His angels'.

Some ancient Synods, however, in the fifth century were considered as having set up irremovable land-

¹ 'Cyprian opposed the then existing custom of the Church which acknowledged the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, contending that the claims of custom must give way to those of truth.'—Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 144 (London, 1899, 3rd ed.). St. Cyprian became bishop of Carthage in A.D. 248, and ten years later was martyred.

² A.D. 353, a Synod of Arian tendency, convened by Constantius II, son of Constantine the Great.

marks of the faith for all time ; nevertheless the opinion by no means came to be an established one, that all legally summoned Synods of the greater sort *ipso facto* acquired infallibility. The Emperor Constantine had called the decisions of Nicaea a divine command, to which notwithstanding he paid little regard in his subsequent proceedings against Athanasius and in favour of Arius. When it was objected to Athanasius¹, the noble champion of the Godhead of Christ, that the watchword of the new orthodoxy at the Council of Nicaea, the Divine Son's identity of essence with the Father, had been at one time condemned at the Council of Antioch², held to condemn Paul of Samosata³, it clearly belonged to his interests to show that there could not exist an actual contradiction between two councils. Yet he only rejoined : ' If, as these persons say, the bishops who condemned Paul have pronounced that the Son of God is not identical in essence with the Father, and if therefore they, from respect for those bishops' decision, themselves come to the same decision as to the expression, it follows that it is praiseworthy to meditate with them respectfully upon this subject, but it is unseemly to bring the one set into the field in opposition to the other ; for all alike are fathers, and all fallen asleep in Christ.'

The founder of Western orthodoxy, St. Augustine⁴, wrote without hesitation : ' Who could be ignorant that Holy Writ is so to be preferred to all writings of

¹ Patriarch of Alexandria, where he died in 373.

² A.D. 269.

³ Bp. of Antioch, deposed for heresy in 272. He denied the personality of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity.

⁴ The most celebrated Father of the Latin Church, b. 354, d. as bp. of Hippo, Numidia, 430.

bishops, that in the case of the former there can be no such thing as doubt or contention, but that the writings of bishops are liable to criticism by reason it may be of a wiser saying of a man better acquainted with the subject, and through the higher reputation of other bishops, and through Councils; and that the Councils themselves which are held in individual provinces should give way without any demur to the reputation of larger Councils, whose members come from the whole Christian world. In fine, even those earlier Councils themselves are often corrected by the later, if in the course of experience that which was closed is opened up, and that which was hidden brought to light.' Also Gregory Nazianzen¹, who as metropolitan of Constantinople presided over the second ecumenical Council in that place, appears to have had no great opinion of the infallibility of Councils, since he confided to a friend this experience with regard to the period of his life which had seen so many of them: 'I have come to the conclusion, if I am to write truly, that I shun every assembly of bishops, for I have never seen a good end come of any Council, because, so far from bringing about a diminution of evil, they have rather augmented it.' It appears that full many a bishop left Rome in 1870² under the same impression.

The members of those old Councils must have realized only too well how their decisions were conditioned by the circumstances of the time, by party passions, above all by the wishes of the emperor. Hence it came to pass that at the fifth ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in A.D. 553, the belief of two Fathers

¹ Born at Nazianzus, Cappadocia, circ. 325; d. circ. 390.

² Vatican Council.

of the Eastern Church, long dead, held in high repute, who at the Council of Chalcedon had been expressly recognized as orthodox, was condemned¹. Thus the decision of the one ecumenical Council was formally set up against the decision of the other, only, it is true, in the form of a judgement concerning persons and writings, yet in immediate relation to a dogma. So too the Council of Constance² declared that a General Council was a higher authority than the Pope, and the fifth Lateran Council, a century later³, that the Pope was superior to a Council.

A definite number of Councils, however, although there has been a certain amount of difference in those selected by the Greek and by the Roman Church, have gradually obtained unconditional recognition in the opinion of the whole Catholic Church, inasmuch as, moved by a certain impulse which they could not disobey, they brought into general acceptance a definite system of thought as to the Being of the God-Man, so that every later Council had first of all to establish its own orthodoxy by unconditional approval of this line of synodical forbears. Other Councils, though also convened as ecumenical, have been rejected by their contemporaries, or by subsequent generations. Thus at the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia⁴ there were present one-third as many bishops again as Nicaea had seen assembled. Nevertheless their decisions were set

¹ viz. Theodoret, bp. of Cyrrhus, and Ibas, bp. of Edessa, charged with holding Monophysite views, to wit, that our Lord's Person did not include two natures.

² See p. 19.

³ A.D. 1512-17. It abrogated the canons of the Council of Pisa, held 1409.

⁴ A.D. 359. There were more than 400 present (as against 318 at Nicaea), who by trickery were induced to sign an Arian Creed.

aside, because they did not fall in with the earlier line of thought. The Council of Ephesus in A.D. 449¹ was in the same way legally convened, and exhibited no less illustrious a representation of the Church than any subsequently recognized as ecumenical. The decisions there were forcibly carried through by fanatical monks, yet other recognized Councils have none the less acquiesced with reluctance in force applied in somewhat milder fashion by the imperial court. But, inasmuch as that Council of Ephesus had overstepped the strict limits of this dogmatic development, and by an unexpected change in the throne had lost its imperial protector², it resulted that its decisions were set aside at Chalcedon³, and that it remained itself a 'Robber Council' in the memory of posterity. The Council of Constantinople of A.D. 754⁴ was gone through as ecumenical with all accustomed form and ceremony by 338 bishops; but, as its work was the abolition of image-worship, and that worship nevertheless afterwards prevailed, the Church of the next generation at once rejected and condemned it.

As only a small number of Western bishops were present at these older Councils, while they were notwithstanding held to be ecumenical, so at the ecumenical Councils held in the Middle Ages in the West the Greek and Oriental bishops were not at all represented, except on the few occasions when a reconciliation with the Eastern Church was attempted. These Councils were merely assemblies of the Pope's advisers, as a rule summoned only to learn and carry

¹ Not to be confused with the third ecumenical Council. See p. 29.

² Theodosius II, emperor of the East, who convened it, d. 450.

³ See p. 61.

⁴ Held by order of the emperor Constantine Copronymus. Its decrees were set aside by the second Council of Nicaea, 787.

out his wishes ; and therefore they could not be spoken of as infallible until the recollection of them was half obliterated. But when in the fourteenth century the papal power, through the selfishness of those who held it, was betrayed to the French crown, and when in its struggles for deliverance it was divided between a French and a Roman Pope, who banned each other as heretics, and when at the first attempt at reunion things almost came to a three-cornered Popedom¹, the Christian nations, to whom the rival Popes addressed themselves, had the decision necessarily laid upon them, and the Church again through its ecclesiastical representatives acquired paramount authority. The Council of Constance² decided that in matters of faith, of schisms in the Church, and likewise of the reformation of the Church in her head and members, every rank and every dignity, not excluding that of Pope itself, is bound to listen to the Council, lawfully assembled and representing the Catholic Church, as deriving its authority immediately from Christ. That decision was only the natural expression of what the circumstances warranted.

Consequently this assembly was to be looked upon as the organ of infallibility. But the predominant faction, as having for its aim the overthrow of a criminal Pope, whose claims reacted upon the earlier Council of Pisa, was not disposed to bespeak an equivalent privilege for a Council. The most respected of the Cardinals, Peter d'Ailly³, declared, without

¹ While Gregory XII (1406-15), elected by the Cardinals at Rome, had for his rival Benedict XIII (1394-1424), the ecumenical Council of Pisa (1409) elected a Greek of Candia, consecrated as Alexander V, and the three contemporary Popes anathematized each other.

² See p. 19.

³ Bp. of Cambrai, d. in 1425 as Cardinal-legate in Germany.

arousing any particular opposition, that it was by no means to be assumed that a Council which represents the universal Church cannot err; several Councils having been held to be universal, and yet having erred. 'For according to some great doctors a general Council can err, not only as to matters of fact, but also in judicial decisions, and, what is more, in matters of faith: it is only the universal Church that has this prerogative, that it cannot err in matters of faith.' On this point the Church's dogmatic teaching expressed itself in the Middle Ages with reserve: 'The universal Church cannot err, forasmuch as it is governed by the Holy Spirit, which is a Spirit of truth'; without definitely indicating any one mouth, through which this infallibility is to speak. Accordingly the canonized archbishop Antoninus of Florence¹, or whichever of his contemporaries wrote these words, weighty in their forecast, which occur in his great literary work, without causing offence at the close of the Middle Ages so far softened down the infallibility of the Church: 'A Council also can err. For although a general Council concerns the whole Church, yet it is not the whole Church, but only represents it. Therefore it is possible that the whole of the faith may be preserved in one individual, in which case it might be said with truth that the faith is still to be found in the Church. This was manifest on the occasion of Christ's Passion, when the faith was preserved in the Blessed Virgin alone, inasmuch as all others were "offended", and yet Christ had prayed for Peter that his faith should not fail.' But this, only

¹ He played a prominent part in the Council of Florence (1439) and was canonized in 1523. His great works are *Summa Theologica*, a popular outline of the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, and *Summa Historialis*, a chronicle of universal history.

held in a somewhat less stiff and mechanical way, is the Protestant persuasion, viz. that the Christian faith is always preserved in the Church, not only in one person but in thousands, so far as they are partakers in the ideal Church, and that in the truth which comes from Christ is contained that Church's power one day to raise itself triumphantly out of all the eclipses of truth, which have overshadowed both Councils and Popes.

The Council of Trent also did not venture to put forth any decision upon this fundamental question of Catholicism; yet it was only on the presumption of infallibility that it could publish its anathemas, and place the Church's interpretation above Holy Scripture. At last the Roman Catechism¹, through the fanaticism engendered by opposition, found itself forced and encouraged to declare, and that in fact with scrupulous diffuseness, that in matters of faith and morals the Church cannot err; yet only the one universal Church; in this case also without defining the organ of infallibility.

In Rome, belief in the infallibility of Councils received no accession of strength through the assembly at Trent, although the flippant speech of the French ambassador was disapproved, that the Holy Spirit arrived at Trent each Friday from Rome in the mail-bag. This saying, however, obtained among the people at Rome: 'The Holy Spirit does not like to cross the Alps'; and that to some extent the Popes believed this, appears to be shown by their opposition to the Council's being held in a city on the far side of that barrier. From Trent itself, which at that time had not yet thought of being an Italian city, Paul III, in the

¹ See p. 4.

year 1547, removed the Council to his city of Bologna, since their physician took an oath that there was a danger of the plague. A manifesto, issued at the emperor's command, set forth indeed that in the same week only two persons in Trent had died—a child suffering from its teeth, and an old woman who had none. This assembly, which began with forty-three persons, by no means all bishops, had heard the hope expressed in the inaugural address that the Holy Ghost would rule, if not their hearts, yet in every case their tongues. The title employed by the Council of Basel, '*Ecclesiam universalem representans*¹,' was refused to this one by the presiding legates as unsuitable to so small a number of bishops, and displeasing to the Holy Father. When, in conformity to the threatening requirements of the emperor, it had to be proceeded with again at Trent in 1551, it was considered very necessary at the papal court to lend it a helping hand by human means. What were the counsels and fair promises in the midst of which they resolved to resume the sittings, while fearing that the Council might seriously enter upon a reformation of the Church, is shown by the agreeable speech of Cardinal Crescentius addressed to the Pope's advisers. According to him, the resumption involved less danger than its suspension, from which a general alienation of princes and peoples from the papal chair was to be apprehended. Moreover, all that was needed was to occupy the Fathers of the Council with other subjects than those of reformation, so that they should have no time to consider the latter. Many prelates must be gained over by courtesies, by promises, and the like customary methods; also temporal princes kept in play by means of the balance of

¹ 'Representing the universal Church.'

power, and jealousy and dissensions stirred up among them, so that, if one desires anything, it may be the interest of another to oppose it. Lastly, there are never lacking people clever at conceits, who can extemporize means whereby a thing can be long protracted, and at length altogether broken off.

The history of that Council shows that such devices were faithfully followed. According to this, it cannot be a matter for surprise if Paul IV, when a decision of Trent on one occasion was opposed to his plans, contemptuously exclaimed: 'It is absurd to believe that threescore ignorant bishops are in a better position, speaking from Trent, to guide the Church than the Vicegerent of Christ.' The Bull, it is true, in which Pius IV put out a synopsis of the dogmas decreed at Trent as an ordinance of belief, declared that this belief was drawn by the holy Fathers from inspiration. Yet Lainez¹, in the presence of the same assembled Fathers, had furnished proof that any power that the Council possessed was bestowed by the Holy Father, inasmuch as each bishop was fallible; that, moreover, all jointly might deceive themselves; and that, if it is said that the Council has been called together by the Holy Ghost, this means nothing else than that it has been called together by the direction of the Pope in order to deal with what shall be decided by the Holy Ghost with the approval of the Holy Father. Sarpi²—who, with Venetian official records as sources and in the style of the Roman Curia, wrote, as is well known, the history of this Council from the free-thinkers' point of view—remarks, with regard to that saying of the General of the Jesuits, that no other has ever been more praised

¹ A prominent disciple of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.

² Historian of the Tridentine Council, d. 1623.

or censured, according to the party standpoint of the hearers. As in the last session of the Council the number of the bishops received an accession from Spain, and to a still larger extent from France, the *mot* obtained, to the special delight of the Italians, that the Council, after being afflicted with the Spanish itch, had been seized with the Gallic sickness.

People reflected that in the old ecumenical Councils the Holy Ghost had always followed the lead of the imperial court, and that in those of the Middle Ages it appeared on each occasion to carry the wishes of the Pope into effect. They noted also the varying forms regulating the rights of suffrage and voting. Thus a doubt might arise, in the minds of even docile Catholics, whether it is really the Holy Ghost that by means of all these Councils imparts, without admixture of human error, the full truth, and whether each of these forms is that appointed by God wherewith to obtain it.

Not merely the ecumenical character of the summons, but also unfettered debate in balancing the grounds *pro* and *contra* (as the expression runs) *conciliariter*, is held requisite in order to constitute a lawful ecumenical Council. Moreover, with regard to some Councils of the West, opinion has always remained divided, according to the ecclesiastical standpoint. The Ultramontanes object to recognizing those of Constance and Basel, the Liberals that of Florence, and the last but one held at Rome¹, as ecumenical. So, too, the question might well arise as to the ecumenical claims of the latest Roman one²—a question which knocked threateningly at the door of the Vatican

¹ Fifth Lateran, 1512-17.

² A.D. 1870.

Council, although the *Civiltà Cattolica* assured us that God Himself was to be throned in the midst of it

As a rule, ecumenical Councils were summoned, if some great controversial question or difficulty warranted the expectation of a decisive answer or solution from this body as representative of the Church. When, after a space of more than three hundred years without a Council, during which the vessel of the Roman Church had often been tossed upon a stormy sea, Pius IX, on June 29, 1868, issued summonses, without the advice of the College of Cardinals, but couched in the customary ceremonial forms, for a general Council, there was no such question or need existent. Least of all, in the face of the general hostility of the spirit of the age to Catholicism, and of the modern order of things to every form of priestly domination, was special help to be looked for from a vote of the bishops, however unanimous, to the effect that they disapproved of this hostility, or, according to the accustomed form of expression, that they anathematized it. Besides, the proclamation contained only those general lamentations which have been wont to be heard from the Vatican for the last century. Consequently the bishops were not in a position to take counsel with experienced men at home as to the subjects to be dealt with by the Council, or to prepare themselves in anything like a suitable manner. Meanwhile the *Civiltà Cattolica* of February 6, 1869, under the form of a communication from France, expressed itself sufficiently clearly as to the nature and character of what was desired both in "Gesu" (the Jesuits' College) and in the Vatican. The words were as follows :—' It must be regarded as significant that almost all Catholics share the conviction that the future Council will be a very short one, and in this

respect like that of Chalcedon. This opinion is not only based upon the well-known difficulties which at the present day would hinder a longer duration of this assembly. It owes its origin especially to the thought that in the most essential questions the bishops of the whole world will be unanimous; so that the minority, however eloquent it might prove to be, will not have the power to delay matters long by its opposition. Also people would not without the greatest amazement see protracted controversies of opinion and language in the bosom of the Council. As regards the dogmatic side, the Catholics would desire that the future Council should promulgate the teachings of the *Syllabus*¹, while setting forth, in the shape of affirmative expressions and with the needful deductions, the propositions which in the latter stand in negative form. Catholics would also welcome a declaration of the Council as to the infallibility of the Pope in matters of dogma. Probably no one considers it strange that, actuated by a sentiment of noble reserve, Pius IX does not wish personally to take the initiative in a decision that appears indirectly to relate to himself. But we hope that the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, speaking with one accord by the mouth of the Fathers in the general Council, will raise this infallibility by acclamation to the position of a tenet of the faith. Lastly, a large number of Catholics express the wish that the Council may, so to put it, complete the circle of the acts of homage bestowed by the Church upon the immaculate Virgin, by promulgating the dogma of her glorious Assumption.'

Pius IX, in 1864, on his chosen anniversary festival,

¹ A catalogue of eighty-four propositions, in which the principles of modern political and social life, such as freedom of belief and worship, liberty of the press and of science, the equality of clergy and laity in civil matters, were condemned as heretical.

Dec. 8, a propitious date, had issued an encyclical to the bishops of the Catholic Church, together with a list ('syllabus') of eighty errors condemned by him. It takes the shape of short theses, like those once nailed upon the castle church at Wittenberg¹. They were meant to express the errors of the age, while these were condemned, partly for being such as the Catholic Church, and indeed religion itself, has invariably rejected, e.g. disbelief in a Divine Providence; partly as those which Ultramontanism had brought into prominence in its opposition to modern science and conditions of life. After Clemens Schrader, a learned Jesuit, and pre-eminently the theological adviser in Council matters, had expounded and defended these theses, and had shown, by placing them in contrast with the error condemned, their comprehensive bearing, it might have been expected that at least some of these, lying as they did so near to the heart of the Papacy, would have been laid before the Council for their solemn adoption.

The summons was so far as possible ecumenical, addressed even to the Bishops of the Eastern Church, by whom however it was not accepted. The Protestants also received invitations; not however, as was naturally the case, such as had been accorded them on the occasion of the Council of Trent, viz. to take part in the proceedings, but only to avail themselves of this opportunity to return as sons who had gone astray to the open arms of the Holy Father. In this respect certainly it was not obvious how the Council would offer an apt opportunity, or how any one who had come

¹ Luther's ninety-five theses against the sale of indulgences by Tetzel the Dominican; the first important action (1517) taken in the direction of ecclesiastical reformation.

to Rome thus disposed was likely to go away much confirmed in the faith of his fathers. Of the 1,037 persons who belonged to the Council either in their own right or through the favour of the Pope, 764 had come by the end of January, most of whom had been present at the opening on Dec. 8, 1869. The eternal city had never seen within its walls a more brilliant assembly of ecclesiastical dignitaries, to a large extent composed of bishops from all the quarters of the world. When they came out from the usual sitting and still had a good part of St. Peter's to traverse, often between rows of devout and curious persons, a considerable impression was made by these venerable countenances, occasionally suggesting sagacity and craft, and now and again stupidity, and also by their picturesque costumes, especially those of the Eastern bishops in communion with Rome.

Since the Council chamber consisted of the right-hand transept of St. Peter's, shut off by a partition of painted boards, this, though but a portion of that huge fane, in itself formed a stately church. When it came to be used, however, there showed itself immediately an acoustic defect through the difficulty of understanding what was said at a little distance from the speaker's tribune. The Pope resisted all demands for another place of assembly. It was said that he did not lay very much stress on the importance of all speakers being understood. He himself declared that the Fathers of the Council would derive from the neighbouring tomb of St. Peter a special and world-compelling power. The essential point was the vicinity of the Vatican, which not unfitly stamped the assembly with its name and the majority with its character. Some assistance was given by a partition wall limiting the space, and

later by an awning extended over the whole assembly. Nevertheless it remained the privilege of a specially gifted kind of voice to make itself intelligible in all directions. To this accidental and removable inconvenience was added another, viz. language. The Western Church, it is true, has retained its common official language, Latin; but it has not been able to prevent varieties of pronunciation in the different countries, whereby the Latin-speaking Englishman, Frenchman, German find difficulty in understanding one another. Moreover, Latin has ceased to be a living language, as it was for the learned in the Middle Ages, and even in the century of the Reformation. Thus not a few bishops, especially amongst those who came from beyond the sea, were quite unable to follow the speakers, while extremely few were capable of giving a reasoned reply in a fluent speech. Accordingly carefully prepared speeches were read both by well-educated bishops, like Dupanloup of Orléans, and also by those of slender acquirements, like Martin of Paderborn, who delivered what his *familiar spirit*, the Jesuit Father, Roh, had put into writing for him. This is merely a proof that without the possibility of a mutual influence of mind upon mind by means of a generally intelligible language there scarcely in the present age remains a living justification for this whole form of ecumenical Council. The sessions, at first occasional, but in the later months held almost daily, were therefore by reason of their tedium very fatiguing, unless from time to time a bold utterance directed against Roman postulates called forth the bell of the presiding Cardinals and the wrathful outburst of the majority. The speeches were indeed taken down by shorthand writers, but inspection of the records thus framed was not permitted to the

members of the Council, the reports were not printed, and the speakers themselves were not at liberty to send their utterances to the Press.

The Archbishop of Paris (Darboy¹) said at the beginning of a speech: 'We are told that we are not to repeat what has already been said by others, but withal we are kept here in the Council chamber, where we fail to a large measure to understand one another, we are allowed no inspection of the shorthand notes, and the invariable answer to all our representations is only, "The Pope does not wish it." Thus I am ignorant of what my predecessors in speaking may have already said here.' I myself heard a bishop say, and without irony, that much of what he did not understand in the Council chamber he learned first from the Augsburg journal.

These secret dealings were altogether strange to the early Church. In the acts of the oldest Councils it is expressly mentioned that the people standing round assented to the words of the bishops. The semblance of this only was retained in the fact that in the public sittings (of which up to the adjournment of the Council four were held, and the first two of these merely for ceremonial purposes), the decisions only were read, the members, as their names were called, announcing simply their Yes or No (*placet* or *non-placet*), and the Pope, on these occasions presiding in person, announcing as the decision his wishes. At these publicly announced sessions, the diplomatic body and some privileged persons were admitted to a narrow gallery above the bishops, the partition cutting off the Council chamber from the rest of the church was removed, and behind a living wall of Knights of Malta as the Council's guard

¹ Shot by the Communists, May 24, 1871.

of honour a thronging crowd beheld first a forest of white mitres, and in the far distance upon a lofty seat the Pope, thus carrying into these days a picture which recalls long-past times. The actual business, and also decisions by provisional voting, took place in the 'general congregations', whose privacy was compassed about with such care that the whole extent of the church, at other times so accessible, was kept clear by Swiss guards to a great distance from the chamber.

This secrecy, which looks like an evil conscience¹, was first introduced for the Council of Trent. It has also in former days existed in the case of political assemblies, and, like so much else, still exists as law for the English Parliament. But the requirements and manners of a civilized people have long abolished it as a matter of fact, and it is merely as a curiosity that it has sometimes happened in London that the Speaker's attention was called to the fact that there were strangers in the House, and that he was thereby compelled to clear the galleries for some hours. In Rome the secrecy has only been intensified. The theologians, who were summoned thither before the Council, to advise upon and elaborate the propositions which should be laid before it, were pledged to secrecy by the oath of the Inquisition. It was imposed upon the Fathers of the Council, under penalty as for a mortal sin, to keep the proceedings private.

As though, among more than 700 men with very different views, it were possible to keep secret for a single month proceedings which the whole Christian world is regarding with interest, and with reference to which it has a right to know, not merely what has been decided, but also how the decision was reached, and

¹ See John iii. 20 ff.

what matters were dealt with ! The ambassadors in Rome, as in duty bound, informed their courts ; the newspapers informed all the world as to the proceedings, and supplied the text of the proposals that were brought forward. It was all very well for the papal party to say that these proposals were false ; they were themselves hindered by the prohibition from correcting them. It is no longer a secret that at that time there was to be found in Rome a powerful magnet, which drew to itself this information in a thoroughly unselfish and devoted manner, and committed it by private messengers to the safe custody of the royal Italian post, whereupon it was edited by skilled hands in Munich. These letters from Rome, as they one by one appeared in the Augsburg paper, proved themselves trustworthy in every matter of fact. Also a generally accurate sketch of the particulars of the last general congregation and of the proximate aims of parties was furnished almost each successive evening to the upper circles of Roman society, a sketch having perhaps for its source only the innocently casual expressions of one or another prelate, or of his theological adviser, swiftly put together to form a combined picture.

Two parties were speedily formed. One of these, in consideration of its past character and the views of many of those who composed it, might be termed the Liberal, but scarcely so appropriately as the *bishops'* party, insomuch as it chiefly sought to maintain the ancient rights of the episcopate against the other, or *papal* party, which committed itself to the absolute monarchy of the Pope. Immediately there arose the complaint, on the part of the former, that the Council lacked freedom.

There is no doubt that the Pope alone prescribed the order of business for the Council and appointed its officials. In old days this was done by the Council quite independently—at Trent, at least in concurrence with the Council. The latter, up to this time, promulgated its decisions in its own name; at the Vatican Council the Pope promulgated them in his name, referring merely to the consent of the Council. He announced that he was willing to share with the Fathers his right of initiative, and thus of bringing forward motions; but the permission to introduce each motion was made dependent upon a delegacy appointed by the Pope, and consisting of trustworthy men of the Pope's party. The other four delegacies for the editing and maintenance of the decrees were, it is true, chosen by the Council, but in the case of each delegacy the names that came out of the voting urn showed such an amount of agreement in the majorities that they yielded, that the voting cards appeared to have been written, if not by the Holy Spirit, nevertheless by one hand, which was altogether unfavourable to the bishops' party. In subsequent voting this latter could reckon at the most 150, the papal party at the least 450 votes. Accordingly the lack of freedom, as the bishops' side termed it, was obviously inherent in the very constitution of the Council.

That majority of 450 consisted, to a large extent, of the one hundred and forty-three bishops belonging to the 'States of the Church'¹, who, trained up in the

¹ The name given to a portion of Italy governed in earlier times directly by the see of Rome. It comprised, in addition to Rome itself, the Marches, Umbria, and the Romagna. It originated in the grant of the exarchate of Ravenna by Pepin, son of Charles Martel, a king of the Franks, to Pope Stephen II in 755. After various vicissitudes nearly all the territory was annexed to Italy in 1860, and the remainder in 1870.

Roman way of looking at things, regarded the temporal power, as still surviving within its old limits. One hundred and thirty-three came from the Italian kingdom. They were men who, for the most part, had received their training in Jesuit schools, and were embittered by the spoliation of Church property to defray the expenses of newly united Italy. They were not wholly devoid, moreover, of that spirit of calculation, which regards the power of the Papacy over nations beyond the Alps as a source of power and revenue to Italy. Out of forty-one Spanish bishops most were appointed under the virtuous Isabella¹, and with this object in view; so that in Rome the saying with regard to them was: 'If the Pope assures them that the blessed Trinity consists of four Persons, they will believe even this.' In addition to these there was a large number of missionary bishops, whose flocks are to be sought for as arising in lands beyond the seas or recently established as missionary settlements in Protestant countries, themselves altogether dependent upon the Roman College of the Propaganda. Among them, no doubt, are partially included one hundred and nineteen bishops *in partibus infidelium*, who only bore the titles of lost and lapsed sees, and so were only bishops inasmuch and in so far as the Pope has invested them with an episcopal mitre. It might seem doubtful whether these titular bishops were entitled to a seat at the Council, and the *Civiltà Cattolica* itself at one time hesitated to decide this question. Yet in Rome it could not long remain doubtful that, as early as the Council of Trent, such bishops sat, and were expressly appointed to that end. In the course of the

¹ Daughter of Ferdinand VII, and Queen of Spain 1833-1868, when she was banished by a revolution.

last two years Pius IX had nominated as many as fifty such, and we should recognize this number, for the supply of votes on behalf of the Pope's wishes, to be a very modest one; for in the Roman Church's store are to be found in addition many names of ancient sees fallen into abeyance, which, if need were, might have been employed for this purpose. Of these, and also of the Eastern bishops, there were many who could only come to the Council on condition that the Pope provided for their maintenance in Rome. While these were accommodated in the numerous monasteries and ecclesiastical houses, and partly also supported by way of obliging the Pope, there remained about three hundred with their attendants, for whose daily sustenance the Holy Father had to make provision; so that this jest ascribed to him, which is quite after his manner, may be true, 'If the Council lasts long, I shall be *infallibile* (infallible), but *fallito* (bankrupt).' The saying, 'Whose bread I eat, his song I sing,' was applied to these papal boarders, yet we must allow that it sounds better than if the Lord's saying had been applicable to them: 'He that dippeth his hand with Me in the dish, the same shall betray Me.'¹

While external reasons of this kind might exert their influence, even independently of the wish without *arrière-pensée* to be complaisant towards the Holy Father, there was also certainly co-operating with these, under the form of Catholic piety, a personal attachment to the Pope, venerable and unfortunate as he was. It was not for nothing that the *Civiltà* had addressed the warning, that the attitude of the episcopate in council assembled could be nothing else than the most absolute submission to, and obedient accep-

¹ Matt. xxvi. 23.

tance of, the papal directions. Even the Opposition, in coming to Rome, were influenced to the very smallest extent by the sentiments which such a title would suggest, consisting, as they did, of bishops who had all been appointed with the approval of the Pope, and who, in the general rise of Catholic sentiment against the powers of the age, regarded by them as hostile, saw their own power and safety dependent upon making common cause with the Papacy. Perhaps never was a Pope surrounded by more complaisant bishops than Pius IX on the occasion of the great canonization of saints in 1862, at the centenary celebration of St. Peter¹, and at his own jubilee as priest². It was, perhaps, from the flavour which these afforded that there came to him the inclination to have the experience also of the highest festival of the Church, an ecumenical Council, which we thought would never assemble again, and so to secure for his pontificate significance in the history of the world.

The business of the Council, nevertheless, moved so slowly, and the Opposition, small as it was, appeared so threatening, that within three months after the commencement an amended order of business was promulgated by the Cardinal-legates (Feb. 20). According to this the proposed agenda for future proceedings are distributed to the Fathers in documentary form, and each can within ten days send in to the delegacy concerned objections to this draft, together with suggested amendments. That delegacy will amend the draft in accordance with those proposals which they consider appropriate, and so lay it forthwith before the Council with a summary of the suggestions offered, as the basis of the next oral discussion. While in this

¹ 1867.

² 1869.

way each, at all events, was empowered to lay stress upon his opinion in writing, yet the consideration of it depended upon the arbitrary decision of the delegacy concerned. Speakers followed one another according to their registration and their hierarchical rank ; only members of the delegacy concerned had on each occasion the right to speak in opposition. More especially, the new order of business directed that if ten members moved the closure, the assembly were to decide the point by a simple majority. This vote is taken by rising or remaining seated, and in the same way, at the pleasure of the legates, the vote upon individual sections of a proposal, not calling over the names till the proposal is put as a whole. This seemed to involve, in the case of even an article of faith, decision by a simple majority ascertained by counting heads.

The Opposition called this a 'non-conciliar' proceeding, an intimidation of the minority. For they were hereby given over to the caprice of this compact majority, which could then, on each occasion, cut short that power of speech which was their only means of demonstrating the right and true. Further, the bishops certainly might be said to sit in the ecumenical Council as judges, but only so far as they were come together as witnesses of the belief held in their churches upon a definite religious question, in order to set forth the traditional belief of the Church as a whole upon this question. Therefore each bishop has a right to free speech so as to give this testimony.

True as this is, nevertheless a numerous assembly cannot well permit undue extension, if some of its eloquent members should have an interest in prolonging it by endless talking, especially if this were done by

means of written speeches. There must exist a power of putting a stop to this, and that can most fitly be found within the assembly itself, and so in its majority. Even though in the Councils there remained still an element of their original representative character, nevertheless there might be a difficulty in obtaining the bishops' testimony on the burning questions before them ; for they would in most cases have to report them as on opposite sides, aye and no ; also it might be done by means of a brief vote, with reasons added ; or, as is the case in parliamentary assemblies, that those who are in substantial agreement should meet and appoint one of their number to express the common conviction. Such gatherings were indeed forbidden in Rome, but yet they have always been held there. Moreover, the minority had certainly an interest by exhaustless speaking as a last resort to postpone without decision the one great question, on the chance that some incident or other might intervene. The majority did not misuse its power in this respect. It only twice carried the closure of the debate. Once this was in a matter not of a very controversial kind, after it had been discussed for a week. The other occasion, it is true, was that of the great question of the day, but it was after numerous speakers had exhausted all that could be said for or against, and in view of the Pope's resolution not to release the assembly from a decision. It was done amid the sighs of majority as well as minority in the feverish atmosphere of a hot Roman July.

On account of this curtailment of speech the Opposition at one time contemplated taking no more part in the proceedings ; they confined themselves, however, to sending in a protest composed by Cardinal Rauscher. It raised the general objection to the decisions of the

majority, that decrees concerning the faith should be adopted only when there was at least a moral unanimity; that this was required by the old rule (of Vincen-¹tius) always maintained by the Church, viz. that that only is to be considered as genuine tradition which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all; that so it was held by the old Councils; and moreover that so Pius IV had offered that his legate at Trent should abstain from voting on a resolution on an occasion when unanimity was not to be obtained.

In matters of faith and morals, decision by a majority of course affects a conscience that is at variance with it more severely than a resolution of this kind on the part of a political assembly, which commonly relates merely to external matters of law, and a year later may be reversed, while the decree of an ecumenical Council has the fatal privilege of binding along with the present the whole of the future, and even of guiding men's judgement as to the past. Therefore Christian charity and prudence straightway demand that a dogma which is opposed by a considerable minority in a Council—a minority which at the least testifies to an uncertainty and hesitation in the consciousness of the Church—had better, if it be at all possible, remain undecided than burden the conscience of the minority, and bring on it the risk of a schism. But the Church has not always acted in that way. Dogmas which have been established after great battles of the faith in ecumenical Councils have not been quite believed everywhere, always, and by all. At these Synods there has not been lacking a moral torturing of consciences in order to obtain complete agreement, and it was obtained,

¹ A monk of Lirinum (d. circ. 450), the most distinguished disciple of Cassianus, who was himself a disciple of St. Chrysostom.

inasmuch as the bishops who held fast to their convictions were thrust out as heretics; e. g. at the second ecumenical Council¹ thirty-six bishops, who could not convince themselves that the Holy Spirit was as great and powerful as the Divine Father and the Son, Who had sent Him, as against 150 bishops, who knew this for certain. Pius IV indeed, in other respects also of a gentler spirit than the latest successor to his name, in this thorny question as to his and the bishops' privileges, preferred to leave this sphere of privilege undetermined. At an earlier date the Council of Trent did not hesitate to carry, e. g., the decree concerning Holy Scripture by 20 votes against 14. When once men venture to vote with regard to matters of faith, so that in accordance with Catholic law the decision cannot be repudiated on pain of forfeiting eternal salvation, it follows that when the intellectual controversy in the way of argument is over nothing is left but the forcible method of decision by majority, whether that majority concerns few or many. 'At least a moral unanimity.' This is nothing but an indefinite confused expression, sprung from the recollection that in the older Councils matters were not carried through so smoothly. How small then must the minority be—two or three bishops, perhaps—if it is not to derogate from the 'moral unanimity'? But yet the same forcible treatment is dealt out to these two, and to the many who perhaps stand behind them. It must be admitted that in matters of faith there can be no decision by majority. But this is the essence of Protestantism! The elector of Saxony's ambassador made use of that grand expression at the Diet of Speyer². Hence the protest against the decision of the

¹ Constantinople, 381.

² See p. 7.

majority, and hereby we have the honourable name of Protestants.

Moreover, the Vatican Council carried out the demand of the Opposition, who cannot be held blameless. If we regard the two solemn decisions of the Council, at the first (April 24) all those present voted *placet*, the one who had determined to vote 'no' being absent through illness; at the second decision (July 18) only two courageous bishops, men hitherto little known, pronounced their *non-placet*. This then may well be held to be 'moral unanimity'!

The minority also urged that at least the votes should not be counted, but weighed. For, apart from the fact that bishops of theological attainments, spiritual pastors of cultured nations, for the most part belonged to the Opposition, a bishop who counts his flock by thousands can plead more right to speak than the one who has converted, or only seeks to convert, some semi-savages. It was calculated that the archbishops of Paris and Vienna, and also the prince-bishop of Breslau, each represented more Catholic souls than did the whole of the bishops of the States of the Church put together. This certainly is a matter of weight, whether we have regard to the nature of the case or to the representative character of an episcopal assembly. But on the other hand there is the view, old and Catholic, although not maintained inviolate even in Rome, that each bishop by the appointment of Christ, and as successor of the Apostles, is essentially on a par with every other, and thus, that the dimensions of his city or country furnish no ground for any distinction as to his spiritual power, especially as a vehicle of apostolic tradition.

The ecumenical character of the Council could not be

prejudiced by the fact of the ambassadors of Catholic powers not receiving, in accordance with previous usage, invitations. On the other hand, in response to a tardy request from the French administration, admission was declined on the ground that Catholic powers no longer existed—a view, the correctness of which caused surprise merely as coming from Rome. Granted that the freedom of the Church was rendered conspicuous and the secrecy of the Council more assured by the absence of political envoys, on the other hand, there disappeared thereby a certain presumed obligation upon Christian States, to recognize the Council as ecumenical. France alone, through the possession of the seaport of Rome, had the means of exercising a direct pressure upon the Papacy; but Napoleon III hesitated on this account to offend the Church party. Against the counsel of the Bavarian minister Hohenlohe to concert precautionary measures against any possibly objectionable decisions of the Council, the North-German chancellor at that time considered the matter as too insignificant, or did not desire to put to the proof a doubtful claim to interference on the part of a leading Protestant power. A considerable amount of inconspicuous influence was brought to bear, and not always to the disadvantage of the Council, the Holy Spirit making use of natural means as well to check extravagant absurdities. For instance, in the preface to the document concerning the faith there appeared a sentence which laid the whole blame for Indifferentism, Pantheism, Atheism, and Materialism upon Protestantism. The bishop of Sirmium¹, Strossmayer, who in addition to his chivalrous spirit possessed from God the gift of readiness of expression in Latin, showed the injustice

¹ The ruined city in the ancient Roman province of Pannonia.

of such a charge, seeing that the Church had long had to contend against Pantheism and Materialism, before Protestantism came into existence. Rather was the Christ-like to be recognized too in the life and writings of Protestants, and in this connexion he named Leibnitz and Guizot, whose writings he could wish were in the hands of all his honourable colleagues. This speech, made on the 22nd of March, was interrupted by the presiding legate's bell, and still more by noisy dissent and stamping of feet, so that at the repeated cry, 'Et tu haeretice ¹!' Strossmayer, protesting against such violence, left the tribune, and in the tumult the session had to be suspended. He himself was much surprised when in the next general congregation the sentence directed against Protestantism had disappeared from the document, and never again came under discussion. The first information came from the Italian newspapers that meanwhile Herr von Arnim, the North-German ambassador in Rome, had signified to the Cardinal Secretary of State that the embassy had instructions, unless the sentence in question against Protestantism were struck out, immediately to quit Rome and break off all diplomatic relations. In fact the ambassador, on hearing of the insult, had telegraphed accordingly to Bismarck, and forthwith received this answer. A Neapolitan journal made the following comment :—' If France adduces a complaint against the Council, Antonelli makes three bows, and all remains as heretofore ; but if Prussia comes with her moustaches and jack-boots, it is known that words will be speedily followed by action, and Rome understands that she must submit.' In fact it was open to Strossmayer and Arnim to remain

¹ 'Thou too, heretic!'

uncertain which of the two had the greater share in rescuing the Council from an absurd position.

Also a special representation of ecclesiastical learning was not permitted in the influential form which it had taken in the earlier Councils through delegates from the universities joining in the decisions, and in particular proffering unbiased advice. The papal party chose to hold that to be unnecessary. As the Opposition deemed that a good proportion of their colleagues in the majority had neither the theological training needful to understand the force of their reasons, nor the independence and ability to proceed in accordance with self-acquired knowledge of the subject, they could hardly determine to consider infallible the decisions of a majority which were thus rendered formidable in character. In comparison with the 'Robber Council'¹ the Vatican Council was called a 'Flatterers' Council'—a very one-sided truth; for, on the other hand, words so audacious and trenching on the limits of Catholicity had never yet been publicly spoken so near the cenotaph of St. Peter. All things considered, there is no great room for boasting as to freedom of deliberation, and that all was conducted in accordance with conciliar rule; but the same may be said of more than one Council recognized as ecumenical.

It is not only, however, the form of ecumenical summons and conducting of a Synod which have hitherto given the character of infallible validity to its decisions, but the actual import of these decisions, and indeed the operation of a power external to the Council.

¹ Convened at Ephesus in 449. It reinstated as priest and archimandrite Eutyches, whose heresy was condemned two years later by the general Council of Chalcedon. It deposed Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, who was so roughly handled that he died of his injuries shortly afterwards.

Döllinger¹, in his opinion concerning the new arrangement of business, gave this advice to the Vatican Council: 'The mere fact of an assembly of bishops, however numerous these may be, is far from constituting a proof of the actual ecumenical claims of a Council. Or, as theologians express the matter, granted that it is ecumenical as regards its summons, whether it is so as regards its progress and close as well is a thing which the Council itself cannot decide. There must first intervene, as decisive and confirmatory, the authority which is paramount even over every Council, viz. the testimony of the whole Church. Councils, as such, have no promise given them. According to the familiar words of the Lord as to the 'two or three', everything hinges upon the being assembled in His Name². But the Church has the promises, and she must first convince herself or possess the certainty that physical or moral coercion, fear, passion, the arts of corruption—things of this sort have very often operated—did not gain the upper hand in the Council, but that true freedom prevailed there. And not only is freedom essential, but also, in Döllinger's opinion, the perception of what the Church of a particular age requires and is at liberty to adopt as development of its belief. Bavarian journals on the papal side called this 'a standpoint outside the Catholic Church', the assertion of which 'must engender immense scandal and terrible disorder'. Father Hotzl³, on the other hand, showed by numerous quotations from writers of

¹ Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger (d. at Munich, 1890), a distinguished leader of the 'Old Catholic' movement. For his opposition to decrees of the Vatican Council he was excommunicated in 1871.

² Matt. xviii. 20.

³ He published a work entitled *Infalibility* (Unfehlbarkeit) in Vienna in 1870, opposing the doctrine, but afterwards accepted it.

unquestioned orthodoxy that this assertion has from ancient days been held as Catholic: 'No Council is really an ecumenical one, which has not been approved and accepted as such by the Church.' The learned Franciscan was on this account summoned to Rome, 'ad recreandam animam¹,' which means, inasmuch as in spite of all dissuasion on the part of his countrymen he obeyed the summons, that he was compelled by doing penance in the shape of spiritual exercises to bow his neck under a recantation.

The thing, nevertheless, holds good. It has been heretofore frankly recognized by learned Catholics as a right of the *Ecclesia dispersa*, and it is shown to be undeniable through the fact that there were Synods summoned as ecumenical and not yet universally recognized as such. Consider well what this implies. According to this view it is not any method, whatsoever it be, of convoking, it is not the bishops assembled at the Council, even though they were all the bishops in Christendom, whereby, apart from anything else, the ecumenical character and accordingly infallibility is secured. This originates through the Church in its subsequent judgement. But what is this Church, as distinct from the bishops assembled at the Council? Plainly not the hierarchy, but what in a State is called public opinion, and in the Church an invisible force of Christian thought, which, independently of the inclination of particular individuals, is by a logical necessity matured collectively. It has received from Christ the promise of His rule in the Church² and of His guidance into all truth³, but withal it is not exempt from the human error of the individual Church

¹ 'For the refreshment of his soul.'

² Matt. xxviii. 20.

³ John xvi. 13.

teachers of even a whole generation, and this is far removed from the infallibility of an ecumenical Council. The Roman authorities, although at that time possessed of very half-hearted interest in the infallibility of the Council, nevertheless knew right well on what account they had cited the monk, as they could not reach one higher than him, to 'refresh his soul' at Rome. Meanwhile, the Bavarian ambassador exercised a careful surveillance. German bishops of the Opposition, to whom the perplexed friend of Döllinger committed the decision, were not inclined to urge him to an act which they themselves perhaps would not commit. Accordingly, after his first explanation was disallowed, he signed a second, which people in Germany were kind enough not to call a recantation, and Pius IX termed him his son and dear brother.

None the less the Vatican Council also, for the present unimpaired in credit either by the subsequent submission of the bishops or by the indifference of the laity, will have to abide by the judgement of the future, whether it be ecumenical and, so far at least as the faith hinges on infallibility, infallible. Certainly the Catholic Church has often enough taken action on the assumption of her infallibility, and Catholicism presses for the recognition of general Councils as the definite organs of infallibility, because in these great gatherings of ecclesiastical dignities and presumably of Christian wisdom the ideal of the Church, though in fact subject to alteration, could be considered as possessed of an unbroken continuity, especially when regarded from some distance in space or time. Thus was established the belief in the chartered infallibility of certain Councils ; but when confronted with the power of truth and the chain of reasoning based on

facts of history this belief has never stood its ground, and vanishes in the face of any serious investigation as an airy fabric of pious imagination.

Since the Reformation protested against this definite Church of Rome with its abuses of that time, it was compelled to disallow its infallibility. Luther, at the Leipzig disputation, distressed by the decisions of the Council of Constance directed against Hus, expressed himself thus: 'How, then, may it be shown that a Council is not subject to error?' Then said Dr. Eck: 'If you can believe that a Council duly convoked can err, you are to me as a publican and heathen!' Since the Reformation referred each believer to his own heart as moved by the Holy Ghost to belief, and to the Holy Scripture, and committed unreservedly to knowledge the interpretation of the same, it denied infallibility to every existing Church, inasmuch as such denial is the logical outcome of its fundamental tenet, viz. that the ideal Church or Christianity in its entirety is entirely contained in none of the Churches which have had a historical existence. Protestantism, however, none the less piously believes that the idea of the Church is continuously operative in the historical Churches, and that each believer can in his own Church attain to a saving faith in Christ, and thereby to the ideal Church. Hence it results that neither the Lutheran nor any other reformed Church has ever doubted that it includes Christian truth, and is thus competent through faith to attain righteousness in God's sight and salvation. Moreover, Protestantism accounts the Church to be a pillar of the truth, and holds that she does not err *so far as* she takes Christ for her foundation; for the antithesis of an infallible is not a deceptive Church, but only one which sometimes

more, sometimes less, truly and wisely has guarded and administered the Divine treasure entrusted to her keeping. It follows that in the Protestant Church also Christian people can confidently trust for their eternal salvation to the authority of its doctrines and the blessing of its Sacraments, just as the same is required in the Church of the Pope. From this point of view the protest against the infallibility of the Church seeks only to affirm, in opposition to all tyrannizing over the conscience, that the individual need not be uneasy, still less need he break with his Church, if he comes to have doubts about its doctrine; further, that no one armed with the means of investigation is forbidden by any ecclesiastical dictum to examine by reflection and testing the Church's doctrine; lastly, that the Church has not through that dubious character of infallibility bound itself for ever to any dictum of the past.

It is a noble privilege of humanity to strive unwearied after a fuller comprehension of Divine truth, and on becoming sensible of ignorance openly to confess it as such. This privilege has been refused by the Catholic Church in the highest province appertaining to the human spirit, that of religion. But seeing that it is the universal lot of men to win their way to truth through error, and in this world to possess the former only as commingled with the latter, it is only through quite definite promises and proofs that that Church would be able to make good her exemption from the universal lot of mankind.

Their theologians appeal to the saying of the Lord, where the Holy Spirit is promised to the Apostles, to lead them into all truth¹. If taken, however, absolutely it would hold good for the Apostles only; but, in fact,

¹ John xvi. 13.

it is relative and merely contrasted with the instruction which as yet they were unable to bear. Even after they had publicly received the Holy Spirit they appear in the eyes of the great Apostle of the Gentiles to be narrow in their conceptions, in that they hold their own mission to be limited to the people of the circumcision¹—a tenet so thoroughly at variance with the basis of the Church. Moreover, at the Apostles' Council, far from laying claim to a charter of infallibility, their discussion concerns itself merely with argument, and results in composing the dispute by a mild and judicious decree, which, however, on its positive side, has nowhere been observed, and to the present day is a dead letter². Had personal infallibility been actually promised to the Apostles, on Catholic principles this would also have been transmitted to their successors, the bishops, in their individual capacity. It is quite an arbitrary breach of Catholic reasoning to hold that this spiritual power was committed to St. Peter only for transmission to his successors, and to the other Apostles merely as a personal gift. But in the mouth of Jesus the truth to which He appeals as spoken by Himself³ is not a complete system of dogmas such as the Councils have gradually laid down for binding souls, but rather the truth which is to make us free⁴, the pure Gospel of salvation⁵; it is religion itself, of which moreover a wise contemporary of Christ, Philo⁶, has written, 'The Divine Spirit is the Guide to truth.'

¹ Gal. ii. 9.² Acts xv. 29.³ John viii. 46.⁴ John viii. 32.⁵ Mark xvi. 15.

⁶ Philo Judæus (*De Vita Mosis*, II, p. 175), d. after 40 A.D., a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of Alexandria. He sought by an unlimited use of allegory to harmonize the philosophy of religion as derived from Plato, Aristotle, and other eminent heathen writers with the letter of the Books attributed to Moses.

Also it is argued that infallibility is guaranteed to ecumenical Councils because the departing Redeemer promises, 'I remain with you always, even to the end of the world'¹. And so He has remained with us. But just as His personal presence with the Apostles did not exclude on their part divers errors and dissensions, so it is in the case of His spiritual presence in the Church. That Christ desired and hallowed this Church to be as His Bride without spot or wrinkle, holy and without blemish², obviously presents us merely with the definition, that ideal of the Church, to which the reality has often so little corresponded, and yet is intended ever to grow in correspondence. Further, it need not have ceased to be a pillar of the truth³, although its decrees have affixed to this pillar various untruths.

Lastly, there is adduced the direction to bring the complaint of one who is aggrieved, when other redress is not readily attainable, before the Church, whose decision shall thereupon be obeyed on penalty of expulsion⁴. But even if we grant that, as confined to matters of that day, it was not a rule for guidance of the synagogue rather than of the Church in our sense of the word, this proceeding relates merely to grievances and acts of injustice sustained by individuals, not to dogmas passed by virtue of infallibility residing in the Church. Moreover, it closes with the great promise which, in opposition to all hierarchical claims of tutelage, gives the assurance that where only two or three are gathered together—not therefore only popes, cardinals, and bishops, but simply persons of any sort who as-

¹ Matt. xxviii. 20.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

² Eph. v. 27.

⁴ Matt. xviii. 15-20.

semble in the name and mind of Jesus, and hold to His Word in the spirit of true disciples¹, He consents to be in the midst of them.

We may add that the whole Catholic proof from Scripture is nothing but a specious argument in a circle. The certainty of this precise interpretation of the words of Scripture is based upon the infallible authority of the Church, and this again upon those words of Holy Writ, viz. in dependence upon an interpretation which does not belong either to the words themselves or to the context of the passages referred to.

Accordingly, forsaken as well by Holy Scripture as by trustworthy tradition, the infallibility of the Church is at last reduced to take its stand upon a presumed necessity. Christ must have established a sure means by which the true sense of the Bible is determined, each dispute as to doctrine decided, and the unity of the Church maintained. That means can only be the existence of a supreme ecclesiastical authority, exempt from all human error, publishing in the Name of God its infallible decisions, to which whoso desires to be saved must submit himself. 'The Church must be unerring, for the believer committing himself to her cannot be led astray.'

This is just the same sort of logical claim which in former days was put forward by old-fashioned Protestant orthodoxy—that the Divine revelation would have taken place in vain, unless each word, each letter, and in the Hebrew text each of those vowels, not one of which, it is true, was written, inspired and guarded by God to the exclusion of every human error, be transmitted to us by this revelation intact and adapted to our

¹ John viii. 31.

capacity. It only works harm, when both assertions, which with human arrogance prescribe to the Deity the course He ought to have taken, are at variance with undeniable facts. To argue thus is only to draw a conclusion from an assumed necessity—since, it is pleaded, otherwise everything is liable to error—for attaining a state of things which is really non-existent. Therefore, also, if the Catholic Church boasts that it alone is the sure Rock for deliverance from the fluctuating billows of subjective opinion, nevertheless when questioned, Whence, then, does the belief in its infallibility originate? in the last resort it has only the answer which old-fashioned Protestant orthodoxy has for its belief in the infallibility of the letters of the Bible, viz. that the Holy Spirit induces the individual to believe on the Church. This, again, transfers the decision to the basis of subjectivity. There remains, however, this difference—that Protestantism, in renouncing that supernatural, or rather unnatural doctrine of inspiration, attained thereupon to a higher development of its essential character, while the Catholic Church in surrendering its infallibility must surrender itself; for, apart from this, it is no longer the perfect Church in which the ideal and the real coincide, and has no right to demand the unconditional subjection of the conscience.

At the time of the German Reformation these views were also expressed within the Catholic Church. The assistant bishop of Trier, under the name of Febronius, pointed out the gradual and very human development of the Papacy, and Dr. Blau, Professor of Dogmatics at Mainz, in a treatise conspicuous for its historical character showed the infallibility of the Church to be a very fallible thing. In pursuance of the teaching

thus furnished, Joseph II¹ founded a new body of Church law in the Habsburg States, and the German archbishops undertook to establish a national Church for Germany, until they were deterred from their purpose by the storm of the French Revolution.

Those, moreover, who disclaim the infallibility of the Church, who reject one or another dogma and neglect the confessional, are able to maintain their reputation as Catholics. This state of things must be admitted as existing in the Catholic Church, for there are innumerable persons who are only members in that sense; a large part—perhaps the majority—of the educated male population of Germany, Italy, and France. Among us there are even many who correspond to the picture which the noble Edgar Quinet² gives of his country: ‘Catholic in form, but at bottom disciples of Voltaire.’ ‘I submit myself to the Catholic Church,’ said Erasmus³, ‘even if it teaches Arian or Pelagian doctrine.’ It was well known to him that it did the latter. The free-thinking historian de Thou⁴ remained a Catholic; but, remarks Hugo Grotius⁵, ‘with thirty exceptions!’ Such persons, believers except with regard to individual dogmas, remain in the

¹ German Emperor, son of Francis I and Maria Theresa, d. at Vienna, in 1790.

² Died at Versailles in 1875; a French philosopher, poet, historian, and politician, and a prolific writer of monographs and of articles for periodicals.

³ Desiderius Erasmus, b. at Rotterdam, 1465, d. at Basel, 1536; the famous classical and theological scholar. He aimed at reforming without dismembering the Roman Church. He at first favoured, but afterwards opposed, the Reformation, and engaged in controversy with Luther.

⁴ Jacques Auguste de Thou, d. 1617; a French historian and statesman celebrated for his contemporary history (*Historiae sui temporis*).

⁵ Died at Rostock, Germany, 1645; the celebrated Dutch jurist, theologian, statesman, and poet; founder of the science of international law.

Church in which they were born, from a certain *pietas*, or from motives of convenience or indifference. Not until the authorities of the Church chose to check or annoy them in their worldly or at least independent existence would they desire to break with it. These uncatholic Catholics are also, according to the conception of the Catholic Church, in one respect still members of the true Church, inasmuch as mere external tokens apply here, and the participation in the Sacraments, in past time at least, remains unrevoked. In principle, on the other hand, they are no longer Catholics. After the unconditional authority of the Church in matters of faith has in their case ceased, it is only a question of their variously exercised choice and judgement how far they withdraw from the Catholic teaching which they so renounce or modify. According to the Canon law, as revived by Pius IX, they are in fact excommunicated. If this be taken seriously, however, a strange state of things would be the result—thousands, millions of excommunicated persons, most of them without their knowledge, within the Catholic Church, and holding offices in Church and State. The essential distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism is certainly in this case done away with, and so far as they, in the quarrel with their Church, have maintained Christian faith and a Christian life, they already stand unconsciously on the side of Protestantism, even though none of the existing Protestant Churches attracts them. They are persons over whom zealous Catholics lament with de Lamennais as he wrote in earlier days¹. He says: 'We are threatened by a greater persecution

¹ Félicité Robert de Lamennais, d. 1854; a French writer and philosopher. His great work in four volumes, *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*, was published 1817-23.

than that which the early Church sustained, through the indifferent who hold believers and heretics to be possessed of equally valid claims.'

As against this it would certainly be very comfortable—and herein lies a mainstay of the strength of Catholicism—to ensure our soul's everlasting safety by means of a definite authority, Divine truth lying before us cut and dried for our daily wants, so that we need only to give it a general assent, or merely to refrain from contradicting it in order to be left in this respect completely at peace for time and eternity. Accordingly, where once the Catholic Church has popular power and usage on its side, defections on a large scale do not take place unless the Church is borne down under the load of grievous abuses, or persistently opposes legitimate desires of the people. Otherwise it is only a case of individuals, who, either under priestly pressure, or simply in consequence of a spontaneous development, rise in thought above the limits of dull usages, and combine with conscientiousness energy of character to fashion their outward life in accordance with their convictions.

The devotion of a people to its Church represents the confidence that it possesses Christian truth and imparts eternal salvation. This confidence, only raised to the sphere of the supernatural and the absolute, is equivalent to the infallibility of the Church, a pious fancy turned to skilful account, but also a sword with a double edge, for the detection of even one error on the part of the Church overthrows the whole proud ecclesiastical structure, and the bold rallying cry, 'Catholic or Atheist' might well, if thought upon with any care, cause alarm at the perception of the consequences it invokes. The sentiment was once expressed by the

most eloquent speaker of the Catholic party in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies: 'Either every dogmatic utterance of the Church is true, or the whole Church is a fabrication.' For us wanderers here below the law is once for all laid down, as the words of Goethe express it, written in letters of brass in the garden of an old professor of Jena¹: 'Error ne'er forsakes us, yet a higher necessity ever gently draws the struggling soul upwards to the truth.' The Catholic Church at one time had need to be the subject of that brilliant dream, in order, ostensibly raised above human error, to bear the burden of the sinking, yet still powerful, Empire of Rome, then to train to religion and decorum fierce nations of youthful vigour, who suddenly flung themselves into all the wealth of a decayed civilization, and finally in the midst of a new civilization half heathen, half Christian, to maintain against disintegration into sects a certain unity of Christendom. But the day will dawn when whole nations will combine with ripeness of intellect so serious an interest in religion that an infallible Church, which with logical consistency exercises dominion over thought, will be a thing which they neither need nor endure.

C. The sole means of Salvation

So far as Catholicism considered herself to possess Christian truth completely and exclusively, she perceived herself justified in the assertion 'Outside her Church no salvation'. This belief, which surrendered all beings outside this Church to be lost for ever, sprang in due course from its infallibility. But inasmuch as in the popular mind thoughts are not carried out with logical accuracy, the belief in a Church as the sole

¹ Johann Jakob Griesbach, biblical critic, d. 1812.

means of salvation far outstripped the dogma of infallibility in date and distinctness. Justin Martyr¹, it is true, going beyond the limits of historical Christianity, considered all who had lived with the Divine Logos, i.e. in accordance with reason, like Socrates² and Heraclitus³, to be sharers in Christ's salvation; and as late as the end of the second century, St. Clement of Alexandria⁴, the earliest master of Christian learning, held that God had in past days bestowed philosophy on the Greeks, just as He had given the Law to the Jews, so that they might attain eternal life. But in the sharp conflict with a multitude of sects, both with those who threatened to resolve Christianity into a fanciful philosophy, and with those who, in carrying the general contempt for the world to its utmost limits, demanded spiritual Christianity of a higher type and a spotless Church outside which there is no salvation, there was developed this belief, which as early a writer as St. Cyprian⁵, in accordance with the fierce expressions of ancient times against Antichrists and heretics, expressed in keen and homely phraseology: 'He who has not the Church for his Mother has not God for his Father.' In those days martyrdom was reckoned as the highest Christian test and glorification. Nevertheless, the same saint writes in his enthusiasm for the unity of the Church: 'If heretics are put to death confessing the Name of Christ, that stain is not washed away even by blood; he cannot be

¹ Originally a pagan, became a Greek Church father; said to have been beheaded at Rome, circ. 163.

² The celebrated Athenian philosopher; condemned to death by poison, B.C. 399.

³ A Greek philosopher of Ephesus; d. circ. B.C. 475.

⁴ Died in Palestine, circ. 220. He was prominent as head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, 190-203.

⁵ See p. 31.

a martyr who is not in the Church.' The Ark of Noah is thenceforward taken as the type of the Church. All outside it must perish in the deluge of everlasting damnation.

The half-heathen, half-Christian emperor Constantine—the Great, as the Church has termed him—was pleased to jest over a Roman bishop of a small sect, which desired to consist of pure saints, and to form the only path to salvation: 'Take then thy ladder, Acesius, and climb up alone to heaven.' This ladder of Acesius thenceforward remained in the Church, but with somewhat larger scope. A Council held at Carthage in A. D. 398 directed that at the ordination of priests the question should be put, 'Whether any one can attain to salvation outside the Catholic Church?' This question, with its presumably negative reply, belongs to a small provincial Synod, but it corresponded so fully with the Catholic consciousness that it was admitted to the common code of the Western Church.

The confession of faith named after Athanasius begins with the words: 'Whosoever wishes to be safe must before all things hold fast the Catholic faith, and he who does not guard this inviolate will without doubt perish everlastingly.' Then comes 'this faith', viz.: the doctrine of the Triune God and of the God-Man in their most rigid minuteness, particularizing opposing tenets in the style of a litany with full detail and condemnation till we reach the concluding words: 'This is the Catholic faith. He who does not hold it truly and faithfully cannot be safe.' This confession, as being of Western origin, has been since the seventh century the Creed of the Roman Church, which since its separation from the Eastern Church has taken with it as well the privilege of conferring salvation. In fact,

that Pope with whom ended the glory of mediaeval Papacy, Boniface VIII¹, affirmed thus: 'We declare that for all mankind it is necessary to obey the Roman Pontiff on pain of forfeiting their salvation.' Dante², to be sure, beheld this very Pope deprived for ever of his own salvation!

A precise dogma to the above effect, however, is not set forth either by the Schoolmen or at Trent, nor does it appear in later theology among the notes of the Church. But the whole Catholic trend of thought, the threats of anathema with which at Trent each dogmatic utterance was garnished and that ecclesiastical assembly brought to its close, has this as its base, while it is also variously expressed in the decrees of the later Popes and in the treatises of their theologians.

This pre-supposition is the legal basis and the motive power for all the bodily and spiritual torture which the Catholic Church, cherishing a holy hatred, has for over a thousand years inflicted in the name of Christ upon unbelievers and believers who in any kind of antagonistic spirit have fallen into its clutches. What matter did it make that the body should be burned, when the concern was to deliver the immortal soul from eternal torment, or, where this was irrevocably lost, by the terrible prelude to a final doom of a kind which the Autos-da-fé represented, to preserve in the Church of salvation a thousand other believers who were already hesitating! This did not take place only in Spain, where these hellish festivals were celebrated under

¹ Pope from 1294 till his death, 1303. He quarrelled with Philip the Fair of France on the secular taxation of the clergy and other matters, and at a Council in Rome in 1302 promulgated the Bull *Unam sanctam*, asserting the temporal as well as spiritual supremacy of the Pope.

² See H. R. Cary's translation of *Inferno*, xxvii. 81, with explanatory note.

special state patronage with all ecclesiastical pomp, and where dogma, pressed to its extreme consequences, brought a noble people to ruin. In the Republic of Venice the heretics, i. e. the evangelically minded, were taken out by night in gondolas and drowned in the lagunes. In Rome during the latter part of the sixteenth century, legal actions against God-fearing men, who were possessed by Reformation sentiments, commonly ended with an unctuous sentence commencing somewhat in the strain of the good Samaritan, awarding imprisonment for life or committal to the civil governor, who was already in attendance and knew what he was required to do. In all places where the Catholic Church had the requisite power, the Reformation in the sixteenth century was opposed by such argumentative methods as these. It was not always a case of personal inhumanity, albeit religious zeal, like sensuality, readily connects itself with bloodthirstiness: it was the salvation-dogma which prepared the rack and set up the stake. It is true that as a rule the ecclesiastical authorities did not themselves carry out the execution. They only buried in their dungeons those whom they sacrificed, saying, 'The Church does not thirst for blood', for the blood of her children! Hence burning was the usual method. She handed over the condemned to the civil power, handed them over with the hypocritical request to deal with them gently and humanely, that is to say, to let them off with death or the mutilation of their limbs. The magistrates, however, were held bound, on pain of being themselves considered heretical, to complete the sacrifice, and usually the executioner stood already prepared, and this too in conformity with the resolution of an ecumenical Synod. This proceeding does not lack episcopal confirmation

for the Pope in particular to use. Baronius¹, the historian of the Roman Church, in an address delivered before Paul V², said: 'Holy Father, the official function of St. Peter is twofold. It consists in tending and in putting to death, according to the words: "Tend my sheep"³ and "Kill and eat"⁴. Accordingly, if the Pope has to do with opponents, he is directed to slay them and to put them to death, and to eat them up.' This is no doubt to be metaphorically understood, seeing that heretics would be a very indigestible food for the Holy Father; but the exhortation is concerned with a fearful reality, adopted without hesitation, when circumstances permitted.

Protestants also have given out that their Church is the only way to salvation, and have acted accordingly. They had in most cases taken over with them the Athanasian Symbol, in their appropriation of which, however, it remained unrecognized that this faith, without which no one can be saved, is imparted by the Catholic Church, both Eastern and Western. The young Protestant State executed Anabaptists, and the murky flames, in which Servetus⁵ died, were kindled by Calvin⁶ and approved by Melanchthon⁷. Some excuse is to be found in the revolutionary attempts of

¹ Cesare Baronio, a Cardinal, and librarian of the Vatican; d. 1607.

² (Camillo Borghese) Pope 1605-21. He weakened the papal authority in a contest with Venice.

³ John xxi. 16.

⁴ Acts x. 13.

⁵ Michael Servetus (Miguel Serveto), a Spanish controversialist and physician. He published in 1531 an essay against the doctrine of the Trinity, and other writings subsequently. On escaping from imprisonment on account of his views, he was arrested at the instance of Calvin, while passing through Geneva, and, after being tried for heresy, was burned there in 1553.

⁶ See p. 104.

⁷ Luther's famous *collaborateur*, d. 1560.

the Anabaptists of that day, which were connected with the peasants' insurrection, and at length, in the horrible kingdom at Münster¹, broke out in a form which was menacing all social order. Servetus had deeply offended pious sentiment through the form in which he vindicated his little-understood teaching, when he somewhere compared the Triune God of the Church to the three-headed Cerberus.

But that fancy of a Lutheran or Calvinist Church, in which alone is salvation, those judicial murders wrought by religious fanaticism, and that which further linked itself to these in a long succession of cases, viz. imprisonment and exile on account of erroneous teaching, or even on account of the Catholic Confession of faith itself—all this had its root in the survival of features essential to Catholicism, which the Reformation had not yet extirpated, although it had clothed them in a Protestant dress. For instance, the death sentence on Servetus was owing to the impression that in this case the Old Testament command against blasphemers was to be carried out. Protestantism, as it gradually attained to a full consciousness of itself, has repented these misdeeds and rejected them for ever. It was genuine Protestantism, when Spener² said upon his dying bed: 'Christ our Lord would be a poor man, if only orthodox Lutherans were saved.' We may add that He would not be much richer if, in addition, He could further receive besides the malefactor only pious Catholics into His kingdom. Rather is this the utterance of Protestantism itself: 'I condemn

¹ Münster, the capital of Westphalia, was in 1534-5 the centre of Anabaptist excesses. There John of Leyden was crowned king of the theocracy or 'Kingdom of Zion'.

² Philipp Jakob Spener, d. at Berlin (where he was court chaplain) 1705; a German theologian, called the 'Father of Pietism'.

not, where I find anything of Christ.' It might indeed say, 'I condemn not at all.' It is only where with reversion to ancient orthodoxy the essential features of Catholicism are revived in the midst of her, that there again springs up the desire for the power to work such deliverances. Protestantism, when she came to herself, recognized her own Churches as historically legitimate presentations of the ideal Church, as Christ would have her, at the same time fully granting their imperfection alongside of others which are still less perfect. But she recognized also that she has no single Church to offer as the passport to salvation, and consequently to shield as such either by bloodshed or milder exercise of authority.

The Catholic Church, moreover, no longer practises this sanguinary enormity of 'constrain them to come in',¹ and of holding fast at any price. The difference only is that Protestantism, through the development of its essential characteristics, has in due course renounced such employment of force, while Catholicism has done so against its will under compulsion from an external power. So it was that in the time of Innocent X² that Pope could do no more than *protest* against the Peace of Westphalia³, so far as it permitted in many places to the adherents of the 'Augsburg Confession' the free practice of their heretical worship. It is civilization, first represented by the modern State, which no longer permits such deeds, and has put upon the old lion one of those muzzles with which the Inquisition formerly led its victims to the stake. The

¹ Luke xiv. 23.

² Giovanni Battista Pamfili ; d. 1655.

³ The name given to the treaties signed at Münster and Osnabrück in 1648, which ended the Thirty Years War.

lion gnashes his teeth against the iron curb. As lately as the spring of 1862 the Archbishop of Toulouse proclaimed a public festival in pious memory of the prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholomew¹, the murder of above a thousand Huguenots on May 16, 1562, in Toulouse, after they had laid down their arms on receiving an assurance that they would be permitted to depart unmolested. Both the subsequent centuries had by direction of papal Bulls kept high festival on this account. But outside the Catholic Church times had changed. The government, by virtue of its right to forbid ceremonials leading to hostile demonstrations, forbade so disgraceful a celebration. In 1872 also the hierarchical party would have celebrated the tercentenary of St. Bartholomew, if they dared, as this massacre was formerly celebrated in Madrid and in Rome, with festival plays, carols, and medals. The later Concordats all seek again to acquire the free exercise of the Canon law, which in the ambiguity and confusion of enactments that hold good and those that are repealed includes the old and terrible laws against heretics. Accordingly the Roman Breviary praises St. Ferdinand, king of Castile², because he was a zealous persecutor of the heretics, and with his own hands carried wood to the scaffold for the condemned. There is in Catholicism this latent tendency to move the masses to fanatical excitement against a strange form of worship, and therefore to excuse murderous deeds wrought under excitement of this kind. No longer ago than in 1876

¹ An organized slaughter of French Huguenots in Paris and the provinces (20,000-30,000 victims), instigated by Catherine de' Medici, commencing on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572.

² Ferdinand V (II of Aragon and Sicily, III of Naples), king of Castile, surnamed 'the Catholic'; d. 1516. He established the Inquisition at Seville.

a Protestant minister in Queretaro¹, as he came out of his chapel, was stoned by the Catholic mob. Pius IX censured it as one of the mistakes of this age that the Church is not granted the power to apply compulsory measures. Therein is contained, if circumstances be favourable, the Inquisition in its entirety. The Canons of the Vatican Council are provided with the traditional formula, '*Anathema sit.*' This, as a Jewish expression, betokens all which on religious grounds is devoted to destruction, and, in ecclesiastical usage, not only an exclusion from the Church (although not a hopeless exclusion from eternal salvation), but, in contradistinction to the Church's blessing, a curse. In that capacity it is supposed to be endowed with magical efficacy, just as Luther renders the expression in Gal. i. 8, by 'Let him be accursed!' To modern culture, however, this ever recurrent curse sounds so strangely that German newspapers made merry over the discovery of a cursing machine for the Pope, which should fire off imprecations as briskly as a mitrailleuse does bullets, and Strossmayer addressed this remonstrance to the Council itself: 'The Saviour practises in word and deed gentleness, meekness, forgiveness. What do we do as opposed to this? What is demanded of us? We condemn; we put upon the Index; we shriek, Heresy, Schism!'

The comparatively mild proceedings in the case of the boy Mortara in 1858 have shown once again what Romish principles demand, and at the same time how difficult it is in this age to carry them out. The Christian servant of a Jewish family in Bologna by

¹ Capital of the state of the same name, 110 miles NW. of Mexico. Here the Emperor of Mexico (and Archduke of Austria), Maximilian, was shot by order of court martial in 1867

breach of faith baptized one of the children privately. As soon as this becomes known the papal government forcibly removes the boy from his parents, in order to secure his Catholic bringing up in Rome in the house of the novices. The entreaties of the father and mother for the restoration of the child, of whom they had been robbed, are all in vain. If they consent themselves to be baptized, the child shall be given back ; otherwise, never. This corresponds to the Catholic usage, which forbids, it is true, the baptism of a Jewish child against the will of the parents, yet, so soon as the consecrated drops of water have touched his brow, he finds the sacred bonds of family relationship rent asunder for ever. The Church, through which alone is salvation, is bound to guard the rescued soul for eternal bliss. The direction received from Rome on the subject is genuinely Catholic : ' While the Church throws its left hand in protection round the human father, it is wholly impossible that it should for this reason bring itself to renounce with the right hand the claims of Christ as the Divine Father. The result therefore is that, if without the Church's concurrence any Jewish child is baptized, she has the undeniable right to vindicate with all determination the supreme paternal claim which Christ by the act of regeneration has won for this being, and, even by force in the case of Christian States, to hold it in spite of the parents.' But such powerful representations were made to the papal authorities, so wrathful were the utterances of public opinion on the part of all civilized nations with respect to this crime against nature, so shocked was every motherly heart, whose sentiments were not exclusively Catholic, with respect to this child robbery in the name of a Holy Father, that probably

the crafty Cardinal Antonelli¹ in his heart committed the baptized Jewish youngster to perdition, while he notwithstanding held it necessary here in the Pope's own dominions to uphold the principle once brought under public discussion. To our eyewitness in St. Paul's Church, it is true, pathetic utterances to the effect that in this case the claims of the natural father have been violated by the Father of Christendom, sound like 'the scent of pomade from the perfumery of Joseph II'². But the hospitable house at Bethany was not more filled with odour of the spikenard³ than was the civilized world with the odour of this salve.

In France, however, similiar steps have been taken several times against the children of Protestant families, who have disappeared, confined by some means or other in convents, to appear again years after as zealous Catholics estranged from their families. There is no difficulty as a rule in converting or infatuating a child's heart, if for the space of a year it be handled with shrewdness and enthusiasm in an absolutely exclusive atmosphere. Under the Bourbons no means of resistance were available. Later also some cases of the kind were brought to light as the result of legal proceedings. Their frequent occurrence and the adverse tone of public opinion with regard to them, is testified by an order of Rouland, the Minister of Instruction, bearing date, Dec. 31, 1861, which threatens spiritual communities with judicial proceedings and dissolution on account of the illegal reception of minors. In it these words

¹ Giacomo Antonelli, a noted Roman prelate, d. 1876. He was President of the Ministry, 1847-8, and Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1850.

² German emperor, issued an Edict of Tolerance, 1781.

³ John xii. 3.

occur: 'Of late the rectors and almoners of spiritual associations have gone so far as to maintain that the advancement of proselytism is more important than the observance of the civil law.' If it be true that only by conversion to the Roman Church is rescue to be found from eternal perdition, a slight preponderance of religious zeal over the sentiment of equity and the natural feeling in favour of the sanctity of family ties is an obvious corollary, in order, when opportunity presents itself, to save a youthful soul from everlasting torture, to induce obedience to God rather than to men.

Perrone¹ puts it to us thus: There is no existing reason, he says, why we should quarrel with the Catholics, since after all they only taught what our own sects had taught earlier. But if *we* afterwards altered this opinion, as we have so much beside, why should the Catholics be bound to change as well? 'Error is subject to change, not truth.'

We reply that Protestants, in contradiction to the essential nature of their Church, formerly acted thus, when they held that Church, in accordance with former conceptions, to be infallible and the sole road to salvation. The Catholic still acts in accordance with this belief. There can be no question of a quarrel, if a principle which as a matter of history was legitimate or legitimated merely for a time develops certain consequences. The question is only of making war against this principle itself, and against its more or less inhuman application. If a milder sentiment had not taken upon

¹ Died 1876. He was Professor of Dogmatics at the Collegio Romano, and was the most widely read of the polemical writers on the Roman Catholic side, although utterly inferior in theological knowledge to such predecessors as Bellarmine or Möhler.

itself to resist, and if Christendom, strong as is its Catholic element still, had not always silently protested, these results would have continued their course with a very different amount of severity. For example, all Jews would have had their children dragged from them and baptized, so far as the Catholic State could seize upon them, on the ground that as Baptism and a Catholic bringing up form the only way of salvation, it was a veritable Christian duty to rescue these innocents from eternal torture, however their mothers, like those in Bethlehem, may lament and refuse to be comforted.

But there is a law applying to what is unnatural and untrue, which prevents it from being carried to its ultimate logical issue. Accordingly inconsistencies and softening interpretations have asserted themselves against monopolizing salvation within the Catholic Church itself. Such is the acknowledgement that even outside the Catholic Church a valid *Baptism* can be performed; so, too, that in heretical communities sins can be forgiven and the divine favour bestowed. The same is the case with *excommunication*, which according to Catholic modes of thought is an exclusion from the Church, the only way of salvation, and a delivery of the excluded soul to Satan. The curse is not irrevocable, for it can be recalled; but so long as it rests upon a person's head, he is excluded from the favour of God; and if he dies unreconciled the Church has no blessing, no invocation of the favour of God for him, nor, when she has power, any resting place for his corpse. So we are told that it lies in the discretion of a priest—indeed possibly it is not confined to a priest, for according to the law of mediaeval times the Pope's legates also, who have not received priests' orders, can pronounce an excommunication—to part a poor human soul for ever

from its Creator! It is a recognized thing that excommunication was sometimes pronounced by mistake, or from a secular point of view, or merely in reference to temporalities, as in Spain not long ago it was customary in the confessional to refuse absolution to those who had bought Church property and were loathe to surrender their lawful possessions. More than one of our emperors, who still live crowned with glory in the memory of our nation in fighting for the rights of the realm, have borne the anathema unflinchingly, and in those parts of the Middle Ages, that were most conspicuous for faith, German citizens, not misled by the excommunication, have adhered to their emperor. Almost all those who have thought themselves subjected to an unjust law, especially in secular matters, have not held it in much account. Appeals to the more instructed decision of the Pope, or to a general Council, or to Christ Himself, are merely the usual legal forms—customary, even if repudiated by the Church—which the discredit attaching to the excommunication takes. The delegate of the Teutonic Order in Rome wrote in 1429 to his Grand Master: ‘Only do not have any fear of the excommunication. The Devil is not so hateful as he is painted. The excommunication also is not so great a thing as the Papists would have us think it. In Italy too princes and cities, although subject to the Pope, no longer have any fear of an excommunication, if it be inequitable.’ And in the succeeding year: ‘If the Pope should wish to deal severely towards you with his ban, bethink you only that he who wishes to have dealings with priest-folk, must sometimes run the risk of a ban. Only meet an unjust anathema with good courage, do not because of such excommunications let country and people come to

harm.' This sounds somewhat flippant at the close of the Middle Ages, but in its most influential period the most ecclesiastically minded of all Schoolmen¹ gave it as his opinion that an excommunication pronounced without due reason or transgressing the proper forms of law, is void, is undeservedly incurred, and nevertheless, if humbly submitted to, establishes a claim to the merit of humility. How inconsistent is this with a Church which is the only way of salvation, and how it looks upwards to that ideal Church, from which no one can be thrust out, if he do not himself break away in his heart from Christ!

Suppose that a faithful Catholic has a Protestant friend well known for his soundness and piety, or it may be some loved object, a wife or child. His sentiment is shocked at the thought of that one being lost for ever on account of divergent belief. Still more impossible is it in a comprehensive view of general history to refuse salvation to the whole Eastern Church, because they decline to obey the Pope, and to all Protestant nations, because they worship God in a somewhat different way, and rest their hope on Christ alone. To what a representation of God and of Christianity would this refusal lead? Dedicated to Christ indeed by Baptism and bringing up, only through the accident of birth in a non-catholic Church—for it is by such causes as these, in the case of most persons, that their religious belief and their inflexible adherence to it are determined—millions would have their salvation endangered only because they cannot accept some dogmas and take part in some ceremonies which have, to say the least of them, no essential connexion with piety. It would be almost like the case related in the Acts of

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Supplem., Qu. 21, Art. 4.* [H.]

the Apostles, that some from Judaea came and taught : 'Except ye be circumcised, ye cannot be saved¹.'

It is absolutely incompatible with the existing state of culture and true piety to pronounce that grim condemnation. Therefore, in the ten years preceding and following the end of the eighteenth century—a mild and sleepy period, when Catholicism almost became oblivious of itself—there was a strong disposition on the part of German theologians of the Catholic Church to deny or recall its dogma of exclusive salvation. On the other hand, even those who held the strictest opinions as Catholics were unable to demonstrate its undeniable character and necessity. But yielding to the mighty advance of Christian illumination the Church's theology also, taking hold of a gentle utterance belonging to ecclesiastical antiquity, bethought itself of an expedient.

St. Augustine, who found room in his heart for the deepest abyss as well as for the sunniest heights of religion, in a happy hour wrote : 'Whoso maintain their belief, though false and wrongheaded, yet without obstinate heat, especially if they have not attained it through their own self-sufficiency, but have received it from ancestors who were misled and fallen into error, and supposing that they are themselves seeking the truth with earnest care, and ready, on finding it, to improve ; they are by no means to be reckoned among heretics².' The theological expedient here applied consists in the distinction between *material* and *formal* heretics. It is only the latter, inasmuch as through their own fault they have fallen away from the Church, and obstinately maintain their error, that Catholicism gives over to eternal perdition. Material heretics have

¹ See Acts xv. 1.

² *Ep.* 43. [H.]

grown up in religious error, but in the honest belief that they hold the right form of Christianity, or, if a scruple on the point crosses their mind, they are ready and sincere in their search for the truth. These Catholicism is willing to refer to the judgement of Him who searches the hearts. It repudiates the heresy, not the individuals. Nay, it is prepared even to reckon these as belonging to the true Church.

In this distinction there lies a certain reasonableness. Also it answers to a strongly emphasized principle in Catholic theology, that it is only the evil will that leads to hell. Numberless kindly souls in the Catholic Church have by this means set themselves at rest with regard to the destiny of their Protestant friends in the other world. Pius IX himself once in his good nature declared those who through ignorance of the true religion were living outside the Romish Church to be blameless in the sight of God. Nevertheless, it is an uncatholic or equivocal admission. If taken seriously and sincerely, it would almost nullify the conception of heresy; at all events the application of that word to the Protestant Church. For it was precisely owing to conscientious anxiety for their own salvation that our forefathers severed their connexion with the Church of the Pope, and we continue steadily to protest against that Church in the belief that it involves a defective conception of Christianity. In the case of the general public this is a powerful sentiment having its root in youthful associations; in the case of discerning persons it is more or less definitely realized. I am assuming in all such cases that it is practised in good faith and in loyalty to the Church of our fathers; but it must be said of many secessions to the Catholic Church that they have not been made in this honest belief, but on

worldly grounds in opposition to conscience, even in the case of men of high standing, such as Henry IV¹ and our own Winckelmann². If, then, Protestant nations are not affected by the curse laid on heresy, and if accordingly the faithful members of the Eastern Church, being, as they are, still more justified as to external ecclesiastical framework, are clearly quite as exempt from the operation of that curse, and if thus all these, so far as their tenets are concerned, can claim to belong to the true Church, it follows at once that the wide-reaching fane of the ideal Church again extends itself over all the faithful among them, and the theory of one Church as the sole way of salvation has disappeared.

But (it is said) the obstinacy and heat exhibited in the maintenance of error proves the 'criminal character of heresy³.' Yet surely this depends merely on firmness of conviction, on temperament, and on the individual circumstances. Did Luther, forsooth, forfeit eternal salvation, when he composed the war song of the great spiritual contest, 'Ein' feste Burg'⁴, which will continue to sound its inspiring note in the hearts of our people, so long as there are German hearts that put their trust in God, or when he spoke in the presence of emperor and realm the undying words, which have taken shape

¹ After having been the head of the Huguenot party, Henry (already king of Navarre) in order to obtain recognition by the Roman Catholics of his title to the French throne, of which he had become heir presumptive, embraced Roman Catholicism in 1593, and was crowned in the following year (assassinated 1610).

² Johann Joachim Winckelmann (murdered at Triest, 1768), a German critic and author, founder of scientific archaeology and of the history of classical art. He was the son of a poor shoemaker. In 1754 he joined the Roman Catholic Church, and was presently sent to Italy.

³ Rom. Catech. I. 10. 1. [H.]

⁴ Based upon Ps. xlv. See C. Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica*, Series I, p. 175, London, 1856.

in brass-hewn form as a memorial of the Reformation on that sacred spot at Worms?¹

Some years ago the liberal view of the question was promulgated with distinct approval thus: 'It is undoubtedly correct to hold that he who is not a member of the Catholic Church cannot be saved; but non-uniates¹ Greeks, Anglicans, Lutherans, Calvinists, briefly, every one who, as brought up in the faith inherited from his ancestors, has never had the opportunity of acquiring the true Catholic teaching, who at the same time does right according to his ability, and remains steadfast in this his faith even though erroneous, and dies therein, is acknowledged by the Catholic Church as a member, even though unconsciously to himself, and attains salvation.' This is either the ideal Church of Protestantism, or it is Jesuit policy, and in effect says: 'You Protestants all continue still under the Pope, and this claim which he has upon you will, as opportunity offers, be vindicated in every case where it is possible.' Owing to this mode of regarding the matter it is also settled—although put in practice by but few bishops against the moral sense of their con-

¹ The work of art referred to was designed though not completed by the German sculptor Rietschel, and cost about £17,000. In the middle of a massive platform stands a large pedestal, surrounded by seven smaller ones, and bearing another on which is Luther's statue in bronze, eleven feet in height. His right hand is placed on a Bible held in his left; his face is upturned in faith. At the corners of the chief pedestal are four precursors of the Reformation, viz. Hus, Savonarola, Wycliffe, and Peter Waldo. These with allegorical and other historical figures, and the arms of the twenty-four towns of Germany which first embraced the reformed faith, constitute an imposing memorial.

² The title Uniates, or United Greeks, denotes those who follow the Greek rite, while at the same time acknowledging the authority of the Pope. Among these are included the Catholics of the Graeco-Roumaic rite in Hungary and Transylvania, numbering about 900,000, and the Greek Catholics of Italy, about 30,000.

temporaries—to dispatch the Church's curse after those who go over to Protestantism.

According to Roman theology Protestantism continues only as a rebellion, and Protestants protest against the truth and in opposition to God. According to the Roman Catechism all the Christian communities, which arrogate to themselves the name of a Church alongside of the papal Church, are governed in opposition to the Holy Spirit by the spirit of the devil. Moreover, St. Augustine wrote concerning a protesting person of this sort in his time: 'Placed outside the Church, severed from the tree of unity, and from the cords of affection, thou shalt be punished with everlasting torments, even wert thou to give thyself to be burned alive for the name of Christ¹.' A bishop at his entrance upon office has always still to swear: 'I will persecute heretics as far as shall be in my power.' A priest continues always bound to deter Catholic parents with every kind of menace, from yielding their daughter to the arms of a Protestant or surrendering the security for the Catholic training of all children. If, however, such rights have been exercised, the wife or mother is harassed in the confessional to induce her to save the children from the pit of hell, and the husband in the same way, if it be only upon his death-bed. Moreover, if this miscarries, then those who were loyal companions in life, where an Austrian Concordat² prevailed, do not, nevertheless, rest together in the grave.

Consequently religious toleration is held to be godless and senseless. It is true that this is distinguished

¹ *Ep.* 173. [H.]

² An agreement concluded at Vienna, August 18, 1855, between the Emperor Francis Joseph and Pius IX. It placed cases of the Canon law, especially marriage affairs, under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts. It was abrogated in July, 1870.

from political toleration. That various religious forms of worship should be recognized by the civil authority is under certain conditions permitted, and indeed unavoidable. But naturally this is only the case where the Catholic Church is forced to submit; for where she has the upper hand, no prince is allowed to tolerate a false religion. According to this, even in constitutional Spain, so long as Queen Isabella¹ had the opportunity of exhibiting her piety, Protestant worship and the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures were punished, no longer indeed with death by fire but with tedious years of imprisonment. Matamoros² and his comrades in the faith were condemned to eleven years' hard labour. It was only the pressing representations, not of the papal but of the Prussian and English ambassadors, that such action was opposed to the conscience of the civilized world, which relieved Protestantism from this martyrdom. When under the young king Alfonso³ freedom of belief had to be made part of the constitution, papal Rome found itself put to straits in its opposition, and, as far as practicable, crippled Protestant worship. In Tuscany, the reading of the Bible with a few friends brought people to the house of correction; and the English Parliament had to make a demonstration with ships of war, until the ruler of the country decided as a favour to remove the condemned from the fate which, in fact, soon overtook

¹ See p. 51.

² Manuel Matamoros was a young officer living in Gibraltar as a political refugee. He with many others was converted to Protestantism by Ruat, a Spaniard, and formerly a writer of lascivious poetry. The severest measures were taken against Matamoros by the Government. He died in exile in 1866.

³ Son of Isabella, proclaimed king at the age of seventeen, 1874; d. 1885.

himself¹. A newspaper, non-German in sentiment, while calling itself *Germania*, spoke of the just rights, which Catholic Belgium concedes to Protestant worship, as the concession of like rights to the devil and to our Lord God! In the Tirol, after it had long resisted German claims and law, after (in 1837) a population of evangelical views were compelled for their faith's sake to leave their native valley, when finally the Austrian monarchy was forced to show a little more seriousness of purpose in establishing spiritual equality of rights, in 1861 one simple kindly tribe, excited by its priests, opposed with such zeal the granting of permission to Protestants to hold land, that you would have supposed that this tribe was tempted to sell house and home straight away to Protestants, and that the country would be poisoned with heretical beliefs. Then were heard from the pulpit words of this kind: 'My dear parishioners, I have a very mournful communication to make to you. The Mother of God is departing. She is leaving the Tirol, because the Lutherans are coming.' Through the appeal made by such a misguided assemblage of peasants, even the Pope was induced to sympathize, and bestowed his apostolic blessing upon the pious endeavours to preserve unimpaired the venerated adornment of the Catholic faith in these parts, and completely to exclude a false form of worship. Döllinger acknowledged it to be the duty of the civil authority, in a case where the Church is still in possession of the whole nation, to resist any attempt to place the national Church in the scales. In other

¹ In 1852, at the intervention of England, through Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister, Francesco and Rosa Madiati were liberated from prison (to which the Inquisition had assigned them) by Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was expelled 1859 (d. 1870).

words, according to him, every other cult is to be excluded by force. Yet even in that case he recognized that in German countries 'the admission of a strange creed can be only a question of time'. In Rome, in the Protestant cemetery near the pyramid of Cestius, the papal government in the last year of its existence took offence at a stone (to the memory of Heinrich von Gebhard) on account of the inscription, 'He rests in God.' The Prussian ambassador, however, caused the stone to be erected, and placed his protecting hand over it.

According to Roman theology religious toleration takes its stand upon the view that all religions and sects, Christian and anti-Christian alike, are good and beneficial, and that God adopts an impartial attitude towards them all. This coarse conception is borrowed from the least choice of those entertained by the 'Illumination'¹ of the eighteenth century, and specially with the aim of justifying religious intolerance. Genuine toleration, where it does not somehow spring up direct out of a Christ-like heart, rests upon the perception that without doubt the great world-religions represent different points of development in the moral and religious spirit of mankind, and so far are in accord with God's will, inasmuch as in the wide-reaching development of history it is His will that men should be free; that the different Churches of Christendom also and many of its sects correspond to definite developments of the Christian spirit, albeit varying much in their titles to respect, significance, and moral effect, yet so that in each it is possible for the individual, according to the gifts of nature and grace

¹ A movement of a deistic and rationalizing character, which had considerable influence on Roman Catholic theology in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

bestowed upon him, to attain to Christ, and thereby to salvation ; that, lastly, no human authority is justified in enforcing a particular religion, while a religion that is compulsory, and not one of the heart, has no value. This perception is also the basis of political toleration, and establishes a connexion both with those to whom we are indifferent and those whom we regard with affection, who find peace in the Church of their birth, though it be a strange one to us. Thus we do not vex and annoy either them or ourselves to procure their salvation, without however withholding from them the better way, which we think that we possess, as a silent pattern, and, so soon as an inclination in that direction shall arise, a subject, as far as may be possible, of definite knowledge. A Church which constitutes the only way of salvation cannot allow this toleration to hold good, and for this reason confuses it with indifferentism, in order under the stamp of the latter to class both as irreligious and absurd.

It must however be acknowledged that in earlier days in Italy, and especially in Rome itself, a nobler custom prevailed, whether through the happy natural disposition of the Italian people, even where their sentiments were still of the Roman Catholic order, or on account of the greater knowledge of the world and more extensive outlook existing at the seat of the Papacy. So I myself, as a traveller cannot well help doing, although refraining as far as possible from causing inconvenience, have often mingled with the worshippers and passed through the kneeling crowd, in order, merely as a heretic, to contemplate the artistic beauty of these altars. Never have I on that account perceived an unfriendly gesture. The Roman's joke is well known to the effect that on one occasion, in order to gain admittance to the

functions of Holy Week in the papal chapel, he chose to dress as a heretic, since, for the purpose of lessening the crush on these days in the comparatively confined space, the condition for entrance in the case of civilians was a black dress-coat, and it is mostly visitors that find themselves in possession of such. If when there in the midst of the prelates, at the moments when all fall upon their knees, I only rose from my seat and stood quietly, a displeased glance was never directed towards me on that account, and I have been always courteously admitted again to this reserved place. It is only an accident, through the residence of the German ambassador, yet it is also a privilege, the attempt to cancel which was unsuccessful, that in spite of the old prediction the German Protestant service for more than one generation has been held on the Capitol. There they prayed too for the Pope. Formerly the words were: 'May God bless the Ruler of this land, in which we sojourn.' It is at any rate a large-minded policy that the schismatic and the heretical monarch alike, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, were received with equal courtesy at the Vatican; and—a thing which is more significant—the Queen¹ also (in 1859), who, whether she found it easy or difficult, had actually left the Catholic Church to renounce the Mass and Confessional. Indeed, the Viceroy of Egypt was received with no less courtesy in 1862; in fact, as early as Innocent VIII's time², the Pope stood in quite a cordial relation towards the Grand Turk, and Pius IX

¹ The references are to Alexander II of Russia, Frederick IV of Prussia, and his wife, Elizabeth.

² Giovanni Battista Cibo, Pope 1484-92. He kept Zezim, brother and rival of the Sultan Bajazet, a prisoner in consideration of an annual payment of 40,000 ducats and the gift of the sacred spear, said to have pierced the side of Christ.

plainly expressed for him, in contradistinction to heterodox persons, wishes which have hitherto met with their fulfilment.

But is not a curse solemnly pronounced upon all Protestants on the eve of every Good Friday by the reading of the Bull concerning the Holy Communion? This Bull (*in Coena Domini*), which was gradually framed in the Middle Ages, and was publicly read on the annual occasion of the Pope's benediction from the loggia of St. Peter's, sums up the imprecations of the Church under all their offensive heads, and deals as well with much that occupies human thoughts. It condemns those who fight with poisoned weapons, and princes who impose new taxes. To this company, after Luther had personally welcomed his admission to it in 1552, there were joined (in 1610) by Paul V¹, who was willing to be called a Vice-God, the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists, together with their patrons. The combined imprecation had already become a laughing stock in the time of the learned Benedict XIV². When on one occasion after the ceremony he asked the Cardinal Passionei, Librarian of the Roman Church, who the strangers were with whom he had previously seen him conversing, he answered: 'Holy Father, they are learned Netherlanders, who have come here to obtain for themselves at first hand the blessings of the Bull *in Coena Domini*, and afterwards to dine with the librarian of your Holy Chair.' The same Pope, who did away with the Jesuits³, also did away with the public reading of this Bull; and it was not again introduced. Only to the militant Protestant it forms much

¹ See p. 79.

² (Prospero Lambertini), Pope 1740-58.

³ Clement XIV in 1773.

14320

too convenient a subject for scandal and quarrelling to be willingly surrendered. Therefore it has been maintained that the imprecations have been re-introduced, on the testimony of one of our travelling countrymen, who, on the occasion of the benediction, has caught up words, unintelligible from distance, and really time-honoured prayers. I have more than once attended at that ceremony, once most agreeably near, with earnest attention, and even before that was able to give the assurance that it now only bears the character of a solemn benediction. 'But,' it is objected, 'granting that it is no longer read out, the Bull itself nevertheless is not done away with.' That is certainly the case, and while the discontinuance of an annual proclamation, which has continued for centuries, and is even enjoined upon all prelates in the Bull itself, is an approach to an actual abolition, even a Pope cannot formally abolish it without a fresh scandal; for it cannot but be evident that, in *theory*, for the Head of a Church which is the only way of salvation blessing and cursing can never be far apart. He is not permitted to use the words of that pagan priestess: 'I am there to bless, not to curse.'

Accordingly the Roman theologian, after all his commiseration for heretics, at the last knows no counsel to give them except this: 'Let them return whence they came out. Then they would have no ground for complaint. But if they refuse to do this, and are damned eternally, they may thank themselves for it.' The bare conviction that they are acting rightly and according to the will of God avails them nothing, for those also who put the Apostles and martyrs to death thought that they were doing God service. But such as complain that this is harsh treatment are referred to Christ's own

words, and are bidden to direct their blasphemous speeches against Him, in that without cause He threatens them with everlasting torment.

It is worth while to examine with what words it is claimed that Christ has established the Roman Church as the only way of salvation. In the first place the expression, 'If he refuse to hear the Church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican!' ¹ we considered when dealing with the question of infallibility². Next: 'He that rejecteth you, rejecteth me!' ³ It was said to the seventy disciples. If we assume that it holds good for all their followers: upright sincere preachers of the Gospel, such as we must believe the seventy to have been, are the last persons to be despised by Protestantism. Lastly, 'He that disbelieveth shall be condemned' ⁴, and, 'He that believeth not hath been judged already' ⁵. This does not mean belief in the Pope or in his Church as the only way of salvation. It means belief in Christ and His simple sublime Gospel. Christ, who considered salvation to be dependent only upon living communion with Him, in His Sermon on the Mount ⁶ commended as happy those that are poor in spirit, those that mourn, those that are pure in heart, those that hunger and thirst after righteousness, those that are reviled and persecuted for His sake. In His prophecy of the final Judgement He declared the blessedness of those who without calculation had done works of charity as done to Himself. There is nowhere anything said of the Pope, his ceremonies, and dogmas. Moreover, the example of Jesus has been adduced, how He drove money-changers and traders from the

¹ Matt. xviii. 17.

⁴ Mark xvi. 16.

² See p. 68.

⁵ John iii. 18.

³ Luke x. 16.

⁶ Matt. v. 3 ff.

temple with a scourge¹. The sellers of indulgences, might formerly have applied this to themselves; and similarly those who traffic in masses at the present day.

A little closer to the Catholic idea are the apostolic sayings quoted concerning the Antichrists who are already come, and the false teachers who are soon to be expected and to be avoided². They are called heretical persons and founders of destructive heresies; but this is not yet *heresy* in the ecclesiastical sense, viz. unbelief as opposing itself to the Church, the only way of salvation, and nevertheless asserting itself to be Christian. The Greek word *haeresis* betokens only that which is separate, a party, a school of thought, either in a good or bad sense, but here in the latter; for, according to St. John's epistle, they are those who deny that Christ is come in the flesh; according to St. Peter, those who altogether disown the Lord. Such the Protestant Church as well would look upon as non-Christian and as false teachers, but without its claiming on that account to be infallible and the only way of salvation.

It is alleged further that the claim of the Roman Church to both attributes is so clear from reason that it is only a blind man that cannot see it. I have in vain sought reasonable proof of this. It must then be involved in the remark of Perrone, who, after the precedent set by the incident of the Count de Maistre, assures us: 'The more innocent the life of a Catholic is, the more closely he adheres to his Church; while his attachment becomes looser in proportion as he surrenders himself to depraved habits. On the other hand, a Pro-

¹ John ii. 15.

² 1 John ii. 18 f.; Titus iii. 10 f.; 2 Pet. ii. 1.

testant, the more depraved his heart and unrestrained his life clings so much the closer to his sect; whereas the more distinguished he is for blamelessness of morals the more doubtful he becomes as to the truth of his sect, and so comes over to the Catholic religion¹. According to this Alexander VI² forsooth led an innocent life, while the morals of Savonarola³ were very loose! Calvin⁴ led an extremely frivolous existence, while the Libertines⁵ in Geneva lived exemplary lives! Much better, in a case where a Protestant population is conspicuous for its serious and honourable conduct, might the jocular plea be urged in excuse: 'The devil only tries to mislead Catholics. He does not trouble himself about Protestants, for he has them in any case.'

Intolerance extending even to the burnings of the Inquisition is nothing but the logical consequence of the Catholic conception of the Church: exclusive salvation within the definite Church and through outward tokens, which can thus be impressed upon a soul even against its will. When looked at from this Catholic standpoint it is a pious duty, which in opposition to all hindrances on the part of civilization is always asserting itself anew, to save souls from eternal misery at any price, by any means. The Roman Church may from prudence and temporary weakness dispense with forcible measures, but it cannot in principle recognize the justice of religious liberty without

¹ *Prel. Theol.* I. ii. § 265. [H.]

² (Rodrigo Borgia), Pope 1492-1503.

³ Girolamo Savonarola, the Florentine denouncer of vice and corruption, executed 1498.

⁴ John Calvin, the stern Protestant reformer and theologian; d. at Geneva, 1564.

⁵ The name given to a sect whose morals were more than doubtful.

surrendering a portion of its own essential character. When Montalembert¹ set forth this gospel of religious liberty over again at the Catholic Congress at Mechlin² in 1863 it was only his undeniable merits with regard to the Catholic Church and his high personal reputation that protected him from Romish censure. He himself at the time very modestly put the matter thus: 'I must confess that that enthusiastic attachment to religious liberty which inspires me is not to be met with universally among Catholics.' Intolerance is logical in the Catholic Church, illogical in every other. The element of truth in it is the historical necessity of an external establishment and communion for the protection and realization of Christianity for all time—a thing which is confounded with the necessity of this particular Roman Church for salvation—and the joyful consciousness of the certainty of salvation in the highest sense of the word through Christ in the exceeding fullness of spiritual blessings, in comparison with which the whole world appears to be but nought and powerless. This was the sentiment which lay at the root of the apostolic Church as well as the presentiment of its mission to exercise world-wide sway; and then owing to selfish and hierarchical pride, in the throng of sects deviating either by excess or defect from the Christ-like type, it was led up to the dogma which claims salvation as attainable in it alone. It also contributed to the heroic deeds by which the Roman Church bore up against troublous times, and won great victories, not only for itself but for Chris-

¹ Comte de Montalembert, a French historian and politician, representing the clerical interest; d. 1870.

² Fr. Malines, Germ. Mecheln, a city in Belgium, thirteen miles NNE. of Brussels.

tianity as well. Further, an unnatural spiritual excitement has the power at the right time to lead to great results, such as Mohammedanism in its youth attained, while in this respect it is still drawing upon its capital.

Likewise, the Catholic Church presenting itself to the nations of the world as a convenient institution forming an insurance for eternity, it is frequently recommended as a measure for security. The argument is this: as the Catholic Church avers that in *her* communion alone is everlasting life to be attained, while the Protestant Church does not affirm this of itself, and is therefore even obliged to admit that salvation is also to be attained in the Catholic Church, therefore in any case the safer course is to belong to the latter. In fact, when Henry of Navarre¹ asked his clergy, whether salvation was not also obtainable in the papal Church, no one ventured to deny it. Nevertheless all the joys of his royal estate, and all the blessings which his rule conferred upon France, did not permanently allay the twinges of his conscience, which once in a dismal night of sickness was moved to anguish at having committed the sin against the Holy Ghost by his secession to the Church of Rome. If such regard for safety and advantage, apart from piety and religious zeal, were justified, even the most pitiful sect would claim our attention, provided that it only took care to erect Acesius's celestial ladder² for itself exclusively, e.g., the Anabaptists at one time in Münster³, the Druses⁴ on Lebanon, as well as the

¹ See p. 92.

² See p. 76.

³ Capital of Westphalia, and the centre of Anabaptist excesses under John of Leyden and others, 1534-5.

⁴ A Syrian religious sect, fanatical and warlike, named probably from Ismail Darazi, who was their first Apostle in Syria.

dancing Shakers¹ in New Lebanon, who all have maintained or still maintain that they possess the monopoly of salvation.

The same belief has been a power in the Romish Church, in which it has brought about a state of things tending not to salvation but the reverse, in that it crushes down human and Christian love as being a crime against the free grace of God. The Jews also once believed that by virtue of their ceremonial law they were the only people possessed of God's favour, and some paltry remnants of them believe this even still : but the hour cometh, and it has already dawned, in which men worship no longer on Gerizim or on Zion, or are in a state of salvation there alone, but in spirit and in truth².

¹ See Evans, *Shakers*, New York, 1859.

² See John iv. 21 ff.

CHAPTER II

TRADITION AND HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE Church has not been founded by writings, but by the living Word. But that portion of the acts and sayings of the Lord, which had established itself in the memories of the apostolic Church has been so completely noted down that evidently only a little, and that of small import, has been transmitted independently of the Gospels. A rich store from the apostolic preaching has survived in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. Yet there is no doubt that of the sayings even of these very Apostles, very much which they had not written down was cherished in the memory of their congregations for a time and handed on from mouth to mouth; and it naturally was the case that their most trusted disciples clung first of all to these personal recollections, as we learn through St. Irenaeus from the venerable Bishop Polycarp¹. When these recollections in the second and third generation were already becoming dim, they were collected by Hegesippus² and Papias³, the latter having a preference for the living voice of the tradition, and were noted down with a view to their preservation. Inasmuch however as Eusebius⁴, to whom these collections were still open,

¹ Irenaeus, bp. of Lyons, was pupil of St. Polycarp, bp. of Smyrna, and d. circ. 202; Polycarp was a disciple of St. John.

² Died 180; a Jewish Christian, the earliest historian of the Church. Only fragments of his work are extant.

³ Lived circ. 130; bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia. His surviving writings are fragmentary.

⁴ Eusebius Pamphili, bp. of Caesarea in Palestine, sometimes called the 'Father of Church History'; d. circ. 349.

in his earnest endeavour to throw light upon ecclesiastical antiquity, imparts from these sources so scanty an amount and so little that is trustworthy, the whole of that which was preserved by them cannot have been considerable.

The Bible of the primitive Church was the Testament of Judaism, i. e. the Old Testament. The congregations of Greek organization had this in the translation and the enlarged form which belonged to Alexandria¹. But when about the middle of the second century, through the energy of the Christian spirit, a second Holy Scripture, a new Testament, was gradually constructed out of the literary monuments of the apostolic time, there was yet established alongside of it, as though of equal authority, an oral transmission, 'Tradition,' since this latter alone appeared adequate in contending with the heretics. This was specially the case with regard to the Gnostics, who, following a philosophical fashion which was gaining ground in the Church, and inquiring into the origin of everything finite, and in particular of evil, accepted, it is true, Christianity in the main as the mode of redemption of the world, but only because through Christ as a heavenly Being of the highest order appearing upon the earth the hitherto wholly unknown God was revealed, though merely as the Creator of the world, the Jewish God, a Being of a limited kind. To meet this danger, which would dissolve Christianity, altogether severed from its origins, into a fantastic speculation, Holy Scripture accordingly appeared inadequate. The Old Testament was rejected by the opponents on principle as a record relating to the God of the Jews only, while there was as yet nothing

¹ It included the Apocrypha in addition to the Canonical Books.

universally acknowledged as established with regard to the constituent parts and the readings of the New Testament. On the contrary, the interpretation of both Testaments was left open to individual option alike within and without the Church. This state of things displays itself towards the end of the second century in the most distinct fashion in the controversial writings of Tertullian¹ and Irenaeus². Even tradition did not avail to refute the Gnostics, who opposed to it with a decided preference their own secret tradition; but to the Church writers it was the firm shield inherited from their spiritual forefathers, with which they met all hostile attacks: it was the Christian consciousness itself historically conveyed. Moreover, it was by no means undefined, but consisted of those definite statements of faith, which, starting from the baptismal Confession as to the Divine Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and retaining vagueness only in less significant propositions, had in the fourth century been noted down as the apostolic Creed, but hitherto, in accordance with the secrecy which marked the beginnings of the Church, merely transmitted orally. Thus it came about that where they addressed themselves to a written declaration of belief, they imparted it only in paraphrastic form and with variety of expression as a Rule of faith (*Regula fidei*), or *Canon*, in this original sense of the word, as that by which all Christian truth is to be *measured*³. These simple, positive articles: We believe in one God who has created all things

¹ The celebrated ecclesiastical writer; born at Carthage; lived there and in Rome, d. circ. 230. He was a vehement controversialist, but became a Montanist, circ. 203.

² The martyred bishop of Lyons; d. circ. 202. He wrote a Greek work against heresies (extant in a Latin translation).

³ κανών, a rule, measure.

(and not in another, as creator of the world); and in the Son of God, foretold by the prophets, Jesus Christ, become flesh in the womb of the Virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate, risen again on the third day, ascended into heaven, whence He has sent the Holy Ghost, and will come again for the resuscitation of the flesh and to judge the world—these contained the full counter-statement of historical Christianity as opposed to the fancies of Gnosticism, and were considered as instituted by Christ, or at any rate by His Apostles; their living records were the communities founded by the Apostles, while at that time in fact by far the greater number of the communities had attached themselves, with these as their basis, to the great or Catholic Church in contradistinction to the heretics. To this Rule of faith were joined in an indefinitely large amount many customs and observances of the Church, such as the Sunday and Easter feasts, the Baptism of children and of heretics, which latter three were variously dealt with in the various regions of the Church until the fourth century, and thus were to some extent subjects of internal contention. But every pious transmission in the Church was held as tradition and as having the Holy Spirit for its source.

Opposition to this dominant tradition originated with the African Church. When the Bishop of Rome¹ appealed to it in support of the custom of his Church not to baptize anew heretics who came over, saying, 'Such is the tradition of my predecessors in office' (*ita traditum est*), St. Cyprian² replied, 'What is the source of this tradition? is it the authority of the Lord and the Gospels, or the command of the Apostles and

¹ Stephen, martyred 257.

² See p. 31.

their Letters? for that what is written is to be put into practice God bears witness, when He says to Joshua: "Let not this Book of the Law depart from before thine eyes, but give heed to do all that stands written therein."¹ By the mouth of Isaiah He cries: "In vain do they worship me, teaching the decisions of men."² Usage without truth is only an antiquated error. We must not decide according to custom, but prevail through reason. In the Gospel the Lord says: "I am the truth."³ He did not say: "I am the observance." Therefore, as soon as the truth becomes manifest, the usage must give way⁴.

Holy Scripture was the foundation of all Christian edification. This was effected, according to the literary conditions of that time, more by means of public reading in the services than through its being a household possession. Nevertheless from the time of the first Clement⁵, who held the post of Bishop of Rome, there are many pious Church Fathers who unreservedly exhort the members of their congregations to read the Scriptures, and to appropriate all that is said in the New Testament writings of the rich blessing to be derived from the Scriptures of those days. The Versions, too, which were made by ecclesiastical authority—the Greek of the Old Testament, and the Latin of both Testaments—were translations into the tongues of the common people.

When the unbounded delight in Holy Scripture and the earnest study of it with all the materials open to the knowledge of that time arose in the third century

¹ See Joshua i. 8.

² Matt. xv. 9 (Is. xxix. 13).

³ John xiv. 6.

⁴ *Epist.* 73. [H.]

⁵ Clemens Romanus, d. circ. 100; according to common tradition the third bishop of Rome in succession to St. Peter.

with Origen¹, and afterwards through the instrumentality of St. Jerome² and St. Augustine³—the former with the richer linguistic materials, the latter with the depth of thought belonging to a kindred spirit—passed over to the West, the Church of that date, engaged in controversy as it was, concerned itself with the setting up of mysteries of the faith, for which the Bible did not supply the statement exactly corresponding. Accordingly the appeal to it is found more on the part of the spokesmen of the defeated side, or at any rate on the part of those who, amid the grievous internal conflicts concerning the faith, hoped for peace in a return to the sublime simplicity of Holy Scripture. This is the exhortation of Eusebius⁴, bishop of Emesa, about 350: ‘What need is there that *we* should give our opinions? Let us turn to the Evangelists! Confess that which is written concerning the Father and the Son, and seek not to inquire curiously into that which is not written. Oh that we were satisfied with the Holy Scriptures alone, and the strife would have an end! After what then may we search? After that which is to be found in the Scriptures.’ Moreover it was still ever the case that individual Church Fathers, who otherwise relied on tradition, captured in some happy hour by the majesty of Holy Scripture, accorded reverence to it alone. So even St. Athanasius⁵, who elsewhere objects

¹ A prolific ecclesiastical writer, and for a while head of the celebrated catechetical school of Alexandria; d. circ. 253.

² (Eusebius Hieronymus), the celebrated Church Father, to whom is due the Latin Vulgate; d. 420.

³ The most celebrated Father and writer of the Latin Church; bishop of Hippo, Numidia; d. 430.

⁴ An ecclesiastic of the Greek Church. Emesa is in Syria. A number of homilies commonly attributed to Eusebius are probably spurious. He is not to be confounded with the Church historian mentioned on page 108.

⁵ The chief defender of the orthodox faith against Arianism, and subject to long and severe persecutions as such; patriarch of Alexandria; d. 373.

to his opponents learned in the Scriptures, that 'The devil may even appeal to Scripture, as is clear from the story of the Temptation,' confesses: 'The Holy and Divine Scriptures are sufficient to point out the truth¹.' St. Augustine says: 'As soon as respect for the Holy Scriptures fails, faith totters. In that which stands plainly in Holy Scripture is to be found the whole of faith and morals. I have learnt to bring such reverence to the books of Holy Scripture alone that I firmly believe that their authors were preserved from every error in writing them. Others, however conspicuous they may be for sanctity and learning, I read so that I do not take anything for granted merely because they suppose it true, but because they convince me by means of those canonical writers or on reasonable grounds².' He regards the rule of faith itself as receiving its sanction by having been first collected from Holy Scripture; yet he would withhold his belief from the very Gospel, did not the reverence in which the Church holds it move him thereto. In this is signified the historical reliability of Holy Scripture by reason of the Church's testimony, as well as the training up of the faithful by the Church; yet this already sounds like what afterwards, as the result of controversy, was avowed by Romanists: 'Apart from the Pope, I would not value the Bible higher than the Koran.'

The holy monk, Vincentius of Lerinum³, made a definite investigation as to the claims of the tradition which to his mind coincides with the Christian wisdom of the Church. He bases the necessity of tradition upon the sublimity of Holy Scripture, in which (he says) each interpreter finds a different meaning. There-

¹ Orat. c. Arian. i. 8. [H.]

² De Doctr. Chr. i. 37. [H.]

³ See p. 56.

fore the judgement of the Church must guide the interpretation. But only that is to be maintained as apostolical tradition which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. By maintaining this view progress is by no means forbidden, only it must be a true progress, i. e. development, and not alteration.

Thus have Holy Scripture and tradition taken their stand beside each other for over a thousand years in the Catholic Church without embarrassment, tradition covering with its broad wings doctrines and observances, old and new, coinciding with the authority of the Church itself, and therefore in fact far outtopping Scripture, yet both as streams involving all Church life, equal in origin, and alike preserved in their purity, sprung from one source, merely distinguished in their origin as written and oral tradition; and all the acuteness of thought displayed by mediaeval theology lay too far afield from historical investigations for the presumption of their harmony to be destroyed.

Only the boldest of the schoolmen, Abelard¹, in placing contradictory opinions of the Fathers, affirmative and negative, side by side, suggests a doubt as to the unimpaired character of tradition, and the opposition of religious parties, in particular of the Waldenses², to the Church authorities, took its stand upon the Bible as the people's book. Therefore Innocent III³ in terms of reproof, though still in measured language, said that Holy Scripture on account of its depth was not for simple, unlearned men, since even the skilled and learned could

¹ A French scholar, more than once publicly accused of heresy; d. 1142.

² A reforming body of Christians, formed circ. 1173, followers of Peter Waldo (see p. 134). Their chief seats were in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont, Dauphiné, and Provence, where they underwent much persecution.

³ Giovanni Lothario Conti, Pope 1198-1216.

not succeed in understanding it. Soon afterwards a Synod in Provence (1234) directed that Bibles in the Romance tongue should be given up and burned. This prohibition of the Bible, taken up indeed again in opposition to the movements originating from Wycliffe¹, it was nevertheless advisable to forget. The art of printing immediately offered as a dowry to the mass of Church people the Holy Scripture in various European languages, especially German. They, however, had first to learn to read in order to take advantage of this gift.

The Reformation based its claim primarily upon the Holy Scripture, inasmuch as it followed up the thought of leading back the Church which had fallen away from that Scripture to *primaeval* Christianity, although this could be only incompletely attained, since no past fashion of human life returns unchanged. But the Word of God as falsified and misapplied under the name of His Vicegerent could only be overborne by the unerring, pure Word of God in Holy Scripture. This was alike the conception of the people and Luther's own impulse, who had grown equal to the conflict only by his knowledge of God's Word, on which he relied. He first really handed over the Bible to his people as the shield and sword of Protestantism, yet with a recognition of the Church's claim to the power of historical development, so that that may be continued which was not contrary to Holy Scripture. Zwingli² and Calvin³ took in hand an unqualified return to the Christianity of the Bible, so that what

¹ 'The Morning Star of the Reformation'; d. at Lutterworth, 1374. He made (with assistance) the first complete translation of the Bible into English.

² Ulrich Zwinglius, the famous Swiss Reformer; d. 1531.

³ See p. 104.

was not justified from it was to be done away. In the 'Augsburg Confession'¹ human traditions were set aside as opposed to the Gospel, but only when viewed as a means of propitiating God and meriting His favour. Such were pilgrimages, monastic vows, and other like religious acts; but the maintenance of many traditions is mentioned, so far as they promote Church order. Dogmatic tradition as a basis for articles of faith was rejected in accordance with the principle of recognizing the sole Word of God in Holy Scripture.

Now for the first time the Roman Church became conscious of the full significance of tradition, so that, if they surrendered it in its character of an infallible transmission of God's Word, they would surrender themselves; for all the ordinances against which the Reformation protested as novelties and abuses, established their Divine claims from this tradition. To this end the learned confronted the defenders of the old Church with the original text of Holy Scripture, and the people did the same with the German and French Bible. As late as Trent a bishop ventured to pronounce it an ungodly thing to pay equal respect to tradition as to Holy Scripture. But under the pressure of circumstances, and through the logical following out of its principles, the Synod was brought to the resolution which, in matters of faith and morals, places tradition on a par with Holy Scripture, as proceeding from the mouth of Christ or from the Apostles through the Holy Ghost, and as it were passed on from hand to hand in uninterrupted succession up to the present. At the same time the ancient Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, was declared to be authentic, according to the first half of the decree relating to it

¹ See p. 3.

only as superior to other Latin translations, but according to the second half as at the least of like authority with the Hebrew and Greek texts, while the interpretation of Holy Scripture was dependent on the unanimous consent of the Fathers and on the judgement of the Church.

Moreover Pius IV¹ (1564) made the reading of Catholic translations of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue dependent for each individual upon the permission of the bishop or officer of the Inquisition, in accordance with the advice of the father confessor; Clement VIII² reserved to a Roman authority the power to grant this permission; Benedict XIV³, who in many things had better knowledge and more liberal inclinations than are usual in the case of the chair of St. Peter, freely permitted all the faithful to read the Bible in their own language (1757), if the translation was approved in Rome, and furnished with comments from the writings of the Fathers or learned Catholics. Nevertheless the Popes since Pius VII⁴ (1816) have declared Bible Societies to be a plague, whereby the Gospel of Christ comes to be a Gospel of men, nay, of the devil.

Both Churches have in consonance with their principles given judgement with regard to tradition as a rule of faith. Protestantism values it as a thing historically transmitted, about the trustworthiness of which it ever judges in accordance with the means by which it has been preserved, and the contents as otherwise tested. Therefore that tradition which is said to

¹ Giovanni Angelo Medici, d. 1565.

² Ippolito Aldobrandini, Pope 1592-1605.

³ See p. 100.

⁴ (Gregorio Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti), Pope 1800-23.

have been merely preserved orally for centuries becomes to it at least no more than a saying, and traditional custom no more than a usage. Catholicism withdraws it from this common fate of all things human by means of the infallibility of the Church which preserves it. Therefore the appeal to an infallible tradition, by which the Catholic Church covers so much that Holy Scripture either does not include at all, or at best hints at, where it does not expressly reject, falls in with the assumption of a continuous inspiration of the Church, and only in the case of individual doubtfulness on the part of the faithful as to this creative spiritual power is there an obscuration of the same; the conservative element thus setting itself against that which is newly conceived or newly brought into existence. It is therefore in the distinction that has to do with the essential characteristics of both Churches that their judgement lies with regard to the claims of Catholic tradition. With regard to mere consequences there should be no contention, when a decision has been reached as to the principles. Only when we come to reflect upon the Catholic consequences, the law again asserts itself that a result of a principle that cannot be justified can neither be logically carried through, nor in its accomplishment conceal its internal wounds.

Though the characteristic of tradition is that it be orally transmitted, this only relates to the form in which it was originally preserved, but by no means prevents it from being subsequently laid up in trustworthy records, especially in written records. As such Perrone names acts of Councils and accounts of martyrs, liturgies, the writings of Church Fathers, of schoolmen, nay, even of heretics, also inscriptions and monuments,

particularly those of the catacombs, and, lastly, the whole of Church history.

Irrespective of the logic of this collection it is fitting that Church history should recognize in all the above-named records the traces of the Church's belief and life in former days. Moreover the dumb picture-writing of the Roman catacombs, to a large extent only lately revealed, gives after more than a thousand years trustworthy evidence as to the retired subterranean life of the primitive Church in these abodes of the dead and of worship. Only it is to be explained without bias. The learned Jesuit Marchi, professor in the Collegium Romanum, showed me (in 1859) in the Museum Kircherianum of that place, newly discovered frescoes from the catacombs. It was a clumsy, artless representation of the miraculous feeding of the multitude. 'See,' he said, 'count the baskets with the fragments that remain over. The Gospels relate that twelve baskets were filled, and yet here there are only seven depicted. Wherefore this apparent curtailing of the marvel? Because the old painter wished to allude to the seven Sacraments. Here you have the undeniable proof that the Church already in the first centuries counted seven Sacraments; neither more, nor less.' I might perhaps have objected that in the second narrative of St. Matthew and St. Mark the number of baskets filled was precisely seven, but there are assertions with regard to which silence is the preferable course. We came then to a second representation of the same subject. I counted the baskets. There were four. 'Had the Church at that time by chance only four Sacraments?' I asked; and the silence was now on the part of my allegorizing guide.

The Church Fathers have been looked upon from

ancient times as pre-eminently the guardians of tradition. The Catholic Church accorded them a special authority, although undefined as regards the degree of obligation, and for this very reason their epoch was extended to the twelfth century, down to Bernard of Clairvaux¹ of monastic sanctity, or even later. For one would expect that in the writings of the earliest Fathers, who lived near the Apostles' time, the most faithful records of the same are contained. But what a diversity of religious conceptions we find there! Perrone remarks that we must be careful to distinguish what is generally confused, the character of a Father as a witness to tradition and as a teacher. In the first respect his authority may be unassailable, in the second we may venture, especially if serious reasons demand it, respectfully to differ from him. To carry out this distinction to the full might be difficult, if not impossible, for it is precisely in religious life that the acceptance of an historical fact is apt to be decided by a belief in its pious import. Tertullian² disallowed the Baptism of children out of reverence for the sacredness of the act: thus he cannot have regarded it as an apostolic ordinance. Origen³, on the contrary, deems it an apostolic tradition. It corresponded to his peculiar teaching as to pre-natal sin, which needs expiation after the man's birth. The word, once written, remains fixed, even including certain errors of the copyist, which however can almost all be corrected, where a number of copies, independent of each other in origin, are extant. But so long as a word lives only

¹ The celebrated French ecclesiastic, who exercised a powerful influence upon the politics of Europe in his day. He became abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux in 1115, where he remained till his death in 1153.

² See p. 110.

³ See p. 113.

in men's memories passing from mouth to mouth, it survives as a living thing, fleeting and changeable. Möhler himself recognizes this fact: 'After the Divine word had become the belief of men, it also necessarily became subject to all purely human fatalities. The preservation and rendering of it were bound by human conditions.' But in case of all oral tradition coming down through several generations, these human conditions involve unconscious alteration, and human fatalities mean error.

Moreover, a strange ill-fortune prevailed in the case of those Fathers who had most notably exerted themselves for the shaping of Church teaching and knowledge. Doubtless this was in accordance with an historical law; for when their soaring and still unbroken spirit came into collision with the incipient stiffness of the Church, they almost all incurred more or less the suspicion of some heresy. Justin Martyr¹, who calls himself an Evangelist in the garb of a philosopher, took this view of Christianity, of which he became the first important apologist, that it differs little from the teaching of Plato, viz., a life according to reason. In his apologies directed against Judaism and heathenism is found much which deviates from the Church teaching of later days. Inasmuch as these writings seem hallowed by the blood of the martyr, such opinions have been benevolently termed archaisms and old-fashioned views. In another man and at another time they would have been called heresies. Origen, the enthusiastic confessor, was the first to apply all the cultivated knowledge of classical antiquity to Christianity, and was alike revered by learned bishops and by holy recluses his scholars, from whose school in the

¹ See p. 75.

next century came forth the founders of Church orthodoxy. He was, however, always suspected of unsoundness in the faith, and at last in the sixth century was formally condemned. In the Western Church Tertullian laid the foundations for a Catholic view of life. Himself rivalled by few in the matter of intellect, he yet speaks contemptuously of human reason, when it sets itself up against the miraculous power and unsearchableness of God. He despises philosophers as the patriarchs of heresy. His work against heterodoxy became the standard both for supplying self-complacency to the orthodox, and for the general condemnation of heretics. Before each refutation these are already condemned, because they do not accord with the rule of faith. 'Were they not enemies of the truth, we should not be warned to flee from them. How should we deal with men who themselves admit that they are searching for truth? If they are still searching, it follows that they have not yet found any thing certain; therefore they do not yet believe; therefore they are not Christians¹.' In fierce controversial treatises, which impute as a crime every slip made by his perplexed opponents, and recognize nothing as Christian that is not Catholic, he crushes down severally the main heresies of his time. But because the Roman Church turned aside from the austerity which he demanded and from his extravagant hopes, he poured out his wrath upon it also, and by a tragic fate himself resorted to a course which was declared heretical by the dominant Church. Lastly St. Augustine², whose powerful intellect swayed the various directions which theologians took in the Middle Ages, schoolmen as well as mystics, had in the energy of youth belonged

¹ De Praescript. haer. 14. [H.]

² See p. 113.

to an actual heresy, Manichaeism¹, the shadows of which still spread themselves over his characteristics as a Church teacher, and the keenest points of what he lays down as dogmas have never fully penetrated the Catholic Church. He has become for them above all else the Father who pertains to reforming Protestantism, and the Jesuits ventured to complain that the Church must once for all be rid of dictatorial Augustine.

Also the oldest traditions do not bear conspicuously throughout, as one would have expected, the stamp of historical truth. Bishop Papias, who obtained the facts which he noted from men who had intercourse with Apostles, relates, e.g., that Judas Iscariot with his body already swollen up was crushed by a wagon, which does not in the least accord with either of the canonical accounts of his death. The same Papias foretold the approaching return of Christ to set up a universal kingdom for a thousand years, and is for this reason judged by Eusebius to have been a very narrow-minded person; for the Church historian had forgotten, as had the Church itself, that the expectation of the approaching millennial kingdom was the almost unanimous tradition of the first two centuries.

Irenaeus, whose youth reaches with but one remove to apostolic times², records this as a saying of the Lord as to the millennial kingdom: 'There shall come days in which vines shall grow, each with 10,000

¹ Founded by Mani (Manes, Manichaeus), b. circ. A.D. 215. He preached his view, a strange blend of Persian and Christian elements, over a considerable part of Asia. It also found numerous adherents in N. Africa. It was a dualistic system, based on the idea of a perpetual conflict between the powers of light and darkness, and enjoined extreme asceticism.

² See p. 108 and Iren. *adv. Haer.* v. 32 ff.

branches, and on each branch 10,000 bunches, and on each bunch 10,000 grapes, and each grape, on being squeezed, will yield twenty-five measures of wine. And if one of the saints pluck one grape, another will cry out, "I am a better grape, take me, and praise the Lord through me".¹ The same language is then carried on with respect to wheat and other produce. This tradition is as well supported as any, for Irenaeus received it from old people in Asia Minor, who said that they had it from the mouth of John; and yet who will venture to take it as true that our Lord actually spoke thus, even though only in a figure? Besides there are the early well-meaning legends. For instance, the Acts of St. Thecla were in existence before Tertullian, and although the presbyter who produced them, as he said, 'out of love to St. Paul', had to lay down his office, the baptized lion still held his place in the tradition¹.

The business then of the historical critic must be, out of all this wilderness of tradition, alien mixed with genuine, out of so much that is contradictory, and besides out of that which has gradually established itself as custom and tradition in the Church, to find out what belongs to apostolic times and has come from the mouth of the Lord. This is also recognized as legitimate in the Catholic Church. Only that in her modesty and sobriety she must not bring to the light of day anything which is contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, the judgement of the Church, the decisions of Councils and Popes; in other words,

¹ These statements as to the presbyter and the lion are on the authority of St. Jerome (*de Baptismo*, ch. 17), and do not occur in the book now extant in Syriac and Greek, and bearing the name of *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. See Article *Thecla* in Smith's *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*

she must go to her work gagged and dumb. Instead of this, the Church comes forward with all the perpetually valid decisions which she has ever under the pressure of circumstances laid down. To identify the golden grains of apostolic tradition amid the rubbish of centuries would mean the possession of a kind of omniscience without the labour of historical investigation. But the infallibility of the Church is in fact omniscience only somewhat limited; tradition and self-consciousness on the part of the Church are almost the same. Ferrone places among the means by which tradition comes to us, with and before the others named above, the *Magisterium Ecclesiae*, the teaching office of the Church. If this is infallible, the question is settled, but Holy Scripture and tradition have then only a subordinate importance; the Church, to which they are subject, can by virtue of her own Divine knowledge and warrant without anything further enact dogmas. The assertion that they had floated silently in the air, handed down direct from the Apostles, is only an illusion, by which that which has sprung up in the course of time cloaks itself in the mantle of apostolic antiquity, in accordance with this impaired notion of infallibility, viz. that it approves itself merely by picking up with certainty traditional truths, while we think at the same time of continuous revelations by means of inspiration. In former days theology still considered it necessary to adduce in support of a doctrine of faith the historical authentication of its apostolic origin. Since the Vatican Council dogmatics have taken new courage in each pronouncement on the part of the Church as official teacher to possess *ipso facto* the certainty of Divine tradition, so that 'supernatural authenticity' accrues even to counterfeit documents such

as the pseudo-Isidore¹ decrees, as soon as they have been once received by the Church. Hereby every claim and interest belonging to historical investigation are abolished with regard to instruction in the Catholic faith, and those who venture to despair that such investigation will yield the results desired, and formerly presumed attainable, are not without common sense.

The whole ministry of our Saviour, however, is opposed to the assumption that He has handed over to His Church to be preserved intact a definite deposit of revealed teaching and rules of life, which are not of set purpose laid down in the Gospels, in order that as need arises it may draw thence its laws as to matters of faith. The Church of the first centuries knew as its proper tradition in matters of faith only the rules of faith and their basis, the Apostles' Creed. This Creed, although not, according to a tradition which is likewise old, dictated by the Apostles, so that each contributed a sentence, yet was gradually framed side by side with Holy Scripture, and in any case preceded the collection of it into one volume. Therefore Protestants of decidedly liberal mind have made no scruple of placing it alongside of Holy Scripture as well accredited tradition, as regards its nucleus and purport proceeding from the Apostles, unique of its kind. How many novelties, on the other hand, does the tradition of later times contain! And yet Möhler calls it unreasonable to find between the later and original tradition any but a purely formal distinction.

If we were to inquire of Catholic theology in the face of all the specified documents of tradition, whether

¹ The pseudo-Isidore Decretals (ascribed falsely to Isidore of Seville, who d. 636) were fabricated and published circ. 850 in the interests of the Papacy, and were for a while believed to be genuine.

by this time all apostolic tradition has been committed to writing, prudent persons would perhaps hesitate between the answer Yes and No. For the affirmative reply would exclude the possibility that in the future new dogmatic definitions might be set up on the basis of tradition. And of those answering in the negative one would have to inquire whether in that case the time be not come, especially in this period of distress for the Church, that all saving words of Christ and the Apostles, which hitherto are only transmitted from mouth to mouth, should at length be generally and surely known? But if nothing of this kind is any longer to be found in the consciousness of the Church, and if its bishops are unable to agree upon anything of the kind, it would be only one proof more, that this whole tradition, after the committal to writing of the Holy Scriptures and of the latest apostolic records which were dying away in the second century—that this tradition which is everywhere and nowhere, is nothing but a fiction arising from the dread of novelty in religion, in lieu of saying openly: ‘The Church possesses this authority and has exercised it at all times, involved as it is in her past history. She frames by organic development something new out of that which is already firmly established, according as it presents itself to her consciousness, mainly owing to the gainsaying of heretics, and according as it seems appropriate.’ If the Catholic Church really believed in her infallibility, and did not prefer to hide the Divine pound in the earth, she would long ago have set forth a clear and well-defined list of all her teaching concerning the faith, instead of which we are now obliged to search for this, especially in its finer relations, from sources which in other respects are not irreproachable.

On so many points are Catholic schools at variance with one another, and in rejoinder to every Protestant attack the appropriate subterfuge is of course that the Catholic teaching has been misunderstood or misrepresented.

It is only seldom that tradition, summoned to the support of newly arisen dogmas, corresponds to any extent with the rule upon which Vincentius laid stress, that it should have been believed everywhere, always, and by all. The apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, generally speaking of Alexandrine origin, and very definitely distinguished from the Canon of Fathers of repute in the fourth and fifth centuries, were reckoned as canonical by the Council of Trent, thus controverting the old tradition, inasmuch as they were in harmony with Catholicism as it then stood, and furnished some proof quotations for disputed dogmas. Take the decisions more particularly based upon tradition: the sevenfold number of the Sacraments, Indulgences, Purgatory, the celibacy of the priesthood, auricular confession, the withholding of the Cup. How can these be said to have been recognized from ancient times without a break and in all places? The converse is plainly to be seen in the case of the last dogma but one of the Roman Church, that of the Immaculate Conception, which for many centuries was absolutely unknown to tradition; then was only a bone of contention and a matter of discordant tradition; then suddenly was made an infallible dogma¹.

In contrast to all these considerations a higher conception of tradition has been formed in connexion with the intellectual view of history universal in more

¹ Publicly declared (after consultation with Roman Catholic bishops throughout the world) by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1854.

modern times. This is the sentiment having its origin from Christ and His Apostles, and diffused through the Church, which, like the national spirit, the genius of a people, as a spiritual power by means of training and custom transmits itself by inheritance from generation to generation, opens the closed Book of Holy Scripture to a living comprehension, reveals itself in the great collective acts of the Church, but also, by permeating more or less the sentiments and views of every individual, impresses on them a common character, a deep family resemblance.

Möhler, who developed and introduced into his Church this conception of tradition, modern, although in point of fact not altogether foreign to the early Church—and in Rome, be it remarked, they did not venture to reject it, however far removed from traditional opinion—recognized the distinction from that which hitherto passed current as dogmatic tradition, even though it was to his interest to make it appear as slight as possible. It is nevertheless very weighty. The teaching hitherto accepted with regard to tradition maintains that a definite sum of dogmas and sacred decisions of Christ and the Apostles was transmitted to their successors, and, protected as it passed from mouth to mouth, from hand to hand, by the infallibility of the Church, has come down unaltered to the present time, and will come to all future time; and it is only such a tradition which could be set up as a settled, infallible pronouncement alongside of Holy Scripture. According to the modern conception it is not a matter of a definite sum of propositions, of infallibility and unchangeableness, any more than such is to be found in the life of the most able nation as well. This genius of the Church, which in ancient time and with more

appropriateness was called the Holy Spirit, is simply a spiritual power, which, working as it does through humanity, excludes neither errors nor moments of development, when history takes a fresh start. By this means the old renews its youth, and out of the decay of the past new life germinates.

In this spiritualized sense Protestantism recognizes tradition throughout; in fact this view of history has grown up under the auspices of Protestant learning. A family, a dynasty, a nation, and so, too, the Church has need of this inheritance from former days, in order to lead a worthy life and to have a future rooted in its past. Möhler has given an excellent description how such a tradition also was formed at once in 'Luther's establishment'. 'His Church's confessional developments are, taken as a whole, so completely bound up with his spirit that at the first glimpse they must be recognized by the beholder as genuinely Lutheran; with the utmost assurance arising from a vivid sensibility, all elaborate, artificial, and far-fetched opinions were rejected by the society whose living principle he had become, as deadly and, when contemplated in the spirit of Luther, as untrue. The community which the reformer of Wittenberg built up proved itself incapable of deception as an interpreter of his words.'

But there were hereby set up no immutable limitations. They were broken down by Luther's spirit, which often looked beyond those limitations that belonged to his own time. A large section of the Protestant Church has more or less modified Luther's dogmatic system, and yet feels itself in communion with his spirit. We still sing his hymn which tells us of the 'strong castle' with the same gladness as did his contemporaries. We still read with the same

assent his vehement work, *The Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, and his profound tractate on the freedom of a Christian man. We best give ear to the Divine Word when it comes to us in his noble, true-hearted speech ; and all his human characteristics, from which Catholic historians have patched up so strange a scarecrow, only make us feel at home.

But Protestantism did not have its beginning with Luther. The Church of the Reformation has not been thrust out poor and bare, like a manumitted bondmaid, into the world. She has taken with her her property, this tradition, the complete treasure of the Catholic Church, so far as she judged it genuine, and this she has thankfully to recognize.

Among the tokens of the truth of Catholicism its age also is urged against us. We do not meet this by reproaching it with the weakness of age as against the still youthful, fresh strength of Protestantism ; for we are dealing with something higher, viz. the apostolic origin of the Church. It has often been scornfully asked : 'Where was your Protestantism before Luther and Zwingli ?' The answer has been a popular counter-question : 'Where was your face before you washed it this morning ?' I answer, without any such figure, 'In the midst of the Catholic Church'. An old Huguenot woman, to whom Fénelon had driven a cow that she was looking for, resisted nevertheless his attempt to convert her. At length the archbishop asked : 'Now tell me, where was your Church two hundred years ago ?' The old woman answered : 'Monseigneur, in hearts like yours.' It is true, indeed, that we have no reason to disown our forefathers, even in the persons of the better heretics and in many a one who has been repudiated by the Catholic Church, and by his un-

righteous rejection has been confirmed in his one-sidedness of view. Möhler remarks it as a case of singular narrowness of mind that in general the later heretics, such as Luther and Calvin, are completely in accord with the treatment which was meted out to the earlier heretics, as well as with the dogmas which were thereby placed on a secure footing; but when their own turn comes, they are 'as men dumbfounded', and are unwilling to grasp that they are being dealt with on the same just principles, inasmuch as they are walking simply in the footsteps of those who are execrated by them, and whom they would have burnt, had they had the power.

The Reformers, still influenced by general Catholic sentiment, and in the desire to attest their orthodoxy, at times failed to acknowledge that they were more nearly in the position of the victims of the Inquisition than of its judges and executioners. But Protestantism came to a juster view of its own nature. We consider it right that the Church rid itself of the Gnostics. Yet we do not regard Marcion¹, e. g. as 'the firstborn of Satan', but perceive in him the strong moral temper and a powerful sentiment in favour of the fullness of Christian charity. This is what moved him in his exaggerated following of St. Paul to sever from Judaism the Apostle's teaching as something wholly new, and, surrendering himself to a speculation then in vogue, to devise for the latter a new God alongside of the old Jewish One. It happens also elsewhere that in opposition to a power in actual possession, which still has a

¹ Founder of a noted heresy, circ. A. D. 140, and son of a bishop of Sinope in Pontus. He rejected the Old Testament, and a considerable part of the New, retaining only an expurgated form of St. Luke's Gospel together with ten of St. Paul's Epistles.

right to bear rule, a succession of attacks are made as unjust as they are inadequate. Yet there comes a day when by means of a just and adequate attack this power is overthrown, or at any rate a piece of its armour torn from it. On two conspicuous occasions the Catholic Church has held up the shield of its tradition against such attacks: once in its youth against the Gnostics, the second time in its maturer years against the Protestants; in very different ways, however, on the two occasions. As against the Gnostics it maintained a simple scriptural faith in opposition to a fanciful half-heathenish philosophy; in presence of the Protestants a list of pronouncements late in origin, and of abuses, as opposed to a faith whose aim is to rely upon Holy Scripture alone. It is peculiar logic to assert: 'If you admit that we were right the first time in using this defence, you must also concede it as regards the second time.'

Protestantism most definitely acknowledges its fore-runners in the pre-reformation Reformers, as they surround the lofty statue of Luther at Worms, and represent the educated nations of Europe, according to the design of the great master¹, who was snatched from us before the completion of his work: Waldo², Wycliffe³, Hus⁴, and Savonarola⁵. But also in the pillars and Fathers of the Catholic Church itself does Protestantism honour its forbears, from whose mouths with their utterances significant of the future it has drawn cheer and instruction, where they protested against superstition, salvation by works, deification of the creature, ecclesiastical torpidity and venality. St.

¹ Rietschel. See p. 93.

² Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, circ. 1170, became a preacher and leader of the Waldenses, who were named after him. See p. 115.

³ See p. 116.

⁴ See p. 4.

⁵ See p. 104.

Ignatius¹ writes what is genuinely Protestant when he says: 'Where Christ is, there also is the Catholic Church,' namely in the ideal sense of the words; for if taken in the ordinary sense it would have to run: 'Where the Catholic Church is, and only there, is Christ also.' Take again Tertullian: 'The Church is in its essence the spirit, not the number of bishops. Heresy is not so much convicted by novelty as by the truth. That which contends against truth is heresy, even if it were an old custom.' It is genuinely Protestant, when St. Augustine places Holy Scripture above all Councils (see pp. 32 f., 114), or acknowledges, 'What is now called the Christian religion existed also among the ancients, and has never failed since the commencement of the human race, until Christ came in the flesh. For this reason the true religion, already existent, began to be termed Christian.' St. Jerome himself says: 'It is of no consequence *whether* you are in Jerusalem, but *how* you are there: you can be saved in Gaul as well as in Palestine.' No less does Protestantism feel its blood relationship with the Mystics of the Middle Ages², with their love and fullness of faith, which derives all salvation from Christ alone; as it also does on another side with the great reforming Councils of the fifteenth century, which in their way desired that which Protestantism in its way effected. As early as the Council of Constance³ the grand conception of the ideal Church was expressed, and became a power, as setting forth the relation of the really universal Church in its ideal Catholicism to the various Churches historic-

¹ See p. 154.

² See, e.g., Dalgairns, *The German Mystics in the Fourteenth Century*, London, 1850, or Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, 3rd ed., London, 1888.

³ A. D. 1414-8. See p. 19.

ally existing. Still, however, only the clumsy comparison was applied of the relationship existing between the conception of genus and its species. So the roots of Protestantism go deep into the old Church. Yes; from the apostolic Church Catholicism and Protestantism were both born almost at the same time as twin sisters; only the latter as yet unknown, confused, lying in Catholic swaddling-clothes and bandages. The Reformation is only the incident in the history of the world that, when the fullness of the time was come, the principle of Protestantism, come to maturity within the Catholic Church, emerged into independent life in its strength and fullness, to found after its own heart the home of its own Church.

Therefore it is also fitting that Protestantism has received its Holy Scripture from the hands of the Catholic Church itself. That has been considered as a proof of the indispensable character of tradition, even where a Church intends to base itself solely upon Holy Scripture. Certainly tradition in the simple historical sense cannot be dispensed with. It is true, indeed, that many a noble work of classical antiquity has come down to us essentially unimpaired, without a definite society having seen to its preservation; and even without the illuminating tradition of annotators is brought by our linguistic scholars sufficiently within the compass of our understanding. Moreover, it is rather from the hands of the Synagogue that we have received the original text of the Old Testament, while of the New we may at least say that we did not receive it as such from the Roman Church. They had only a translation. Notwithstanding, there were demonstrably ecclesiastical interests involved in the collection, with unhesitating unanimity of sentiment, of the memorials

of primitive Christianity into the Canon, in their careful preservation, and in bearing testimony to their origin. This testimony, however weighty it be, is yet in the view of learning not infallible. If it has not thoroughly commended itself to critical investigation, if that investigation does not consider the first Gospel in the form in which it has come down to us as the immediate work of St. Matthew, if it does not perceive in the Epistle to the Hebrews the style of St. Paul, if it attributes the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter to the second century, if in the Canon transmitted from the Jewish Church it considers at any rate 'the Fifth Book of Moses' not to be his work, if in the Book of Isaiah it distinguishes constituent elements external to him, though of very lofty tone, and ascribes the prophecies of Daniel to a later time when they had already been fulfilled; Catholic theology is in that case certainly delivered from these cares and troubles by means of a presumably infallible tradition, but at the same time it is precluded thereby from the unfettered investigation of knowledge. Besides, no tolerably instructed Protestant thinks of excluding from Holy Scripture the writings we have mentioned, because tradition has not assigned to them the right names. Rather, we thank God, and have especial cause for doing so, that we have such a Divine Book, set apart, recognized throughout Christendom, hallowed by the experiences of many hundreds of years. We may continue still to say with Luther, albeit to us in the case of many parts of the Bible it can only hold good in a wider sense, 'Let Dick or Harry have written it, if only it has to do with Christ'.

The ambiguous resolution at Trent on the subject of the Vulgate was nothing more than a shamefaced

confession that the Catholic theologians of that time were hard pressed, by those inclined to the Reformation, with the Hebrew and Greek texts of Holy Scripture. The time was not too far distant when the warning had been heard: 'Beware of the new languages, which they call Greek and Hebrew, for the one is schismatical, and he who learns the other is in danger of becoming a Jew!' Meanwhile the new gift of tongues was become powerful, but its priests, the 'humanists', had for the most part attached themselves to the Reformation. In presence of these grammarians people desired to be on their guard. Also in the fact that a Church does not possess as original and divinely bestowed the Bible in its own tongue (which tongue it yet desires to make the sacred and universal language of the Church), there is involved the confession, which it would willingly have disowned, that this Church is in truth not the original one. The ideal claim of the resolution at Trent was, to put it in the mildest form, self-deception; as implying that, since God had given the Greek schismatical Church the Holy Scripture in its own language, He could not well do less for His orthodox Roman Church. But in reality this Latin Bible was only an old and faulty translation, the correction of which by St. Jerome was impeached as a suspicious innovation of his time. The Trent resolution places it on a level with the original text, for it is directed to be employed as authentic both in public reading and in disputations, and we know that the latter were not at that time considered merely as an academic pastime. Where the object is not edification, but the knowledge of the original sense, it is obviously an unscientific conclusion to say the translation shall hold good instead of the original. Accordingly in the

German Universities, especially where the Catholic faculty exists alongside of a Protestant one, of which the former always in Vienna stands in awe, in the case of exegetical lectures the professor is in the habit of first reading out the Vulgate, but then, concerning himself no further with *it*, he expounds the Hebrew or Greek text.

In view of the unscientific character of the Catholic regulation, which only becomes tolerable through an evasion, it sounds *naïf* when Roman theologians complain of the Protestant ones that they have never yet been able to come to an agreement as to a translation, or the readings of the Greek and Hebrew text. As if a translation was of much moment, when Protestant learning takes its stand only on the original text. For popular use in the Church, on the other hand, we Germans at any rate have a Version which, in spite of many well-known defects of translation and roughnesses of style, is the recognized masterpiece of German speech, and a work showing profound familiarity with God's Word. Whoever in the whole of Germany desires to be understood, whether Protestant or Catholic, must speak and write in the language built up by means of Luther's Version. As concerns, however, the original text of the New Testament, which is not to be settled by a word of command on the part of the Church, but (while having regard of course to tradition as well) on scientific principles, in accordance with the oldest manuscripts and the still older readings supplied by some of the Fathers: does Catholic theology by any chance possess more certain knowledge as to the original readings? Her so-called *Textus receptus* is in fact nothing but a casual work, brought out in great measure for convenience by a learned printer, and full

of mistakes, while the attestation of the original text, as far as is for the present possible, has been mainly carried out by the laborious efforts of learned Protestants, from Griesbach¹ to Lachmann² and Tischendorf³.

A singular mischance withal befell the Papacy on the occasion of the establishment of the Vulgate text. The learned at Trent, in spite of the official resolution, had recognized that there was at least need of an emended edition, since classical culture, mainly through the agency of Erasmus⁴, had pointed out manifold errors in rendering. Moreover, by following faulty copies, the editions deviated widely from each other. This business was referred to Rome, and a Congregation under Cardinal Caraffa⁵ advised corrections in accordance with rules framed for the purpose. But Sixtus V⁶ framed other rules, and at last, taking the matter completely into his own hands, published in 1590 the official edition⁷ put forth with full apostolic authority as henceforward unalterable on pain of the greater excommunication, with the assurance that he had corrected the misprints with his own hand. He himself in his turn, however, had occasion to be alarmed at his handiwork, and caused the most serious errors to be corrected by slips of paper pasted on. After the decease of this autocratic Pope there was even a talk in Rome of suppressing his publication. In accordance

¹ Died, as professor, at Jena, 1812; edited Greek New Testament, 1774-7.

² A noted critic, professor at Königsberg and Berlin; died 1851.

³ The great Biblical critic, professor at Leipzig from 1845 till his death, 1874.

⁴ See p. 71.

⁵ John Peter Caraffa, bishop of Theate, and afterwards Pope Paul IV, 1555-9.

⁶ (Felice Peretti), Pope 1585-90.

⁷ Under the name of the Sixtine edition.

with Bellarmine's advice, however, they had recourse to a new edition, which contained as many as two thousand emendations, and appeared again under the name of Sixtus in 1592, while the existing edition was as far as possible quietly set aside. When these things got wind, there was nothing to hinder Protestant controversialists from making merry over this testimony to the unlimited powers of the Pope. For a corrector the privilege of infallibility might well be considered among the most desirable, at any rate among the most innocuous. Certainly the object of claiming that privilege for the Pope was not that he might correct misprints : still an undertaking of such significance, by such a hand, and with such claims, must provide us with an impressive sermon on the frailty of all human things.

The consent of the Fathers, to which the resolution of Trent, and now also of the Vatican Council, desires to confine all interpretation of Scripture, sounds strange enough to one who knows the interpretations of most of the Fathers, often thoughtful and pious, but just as often whimsical and at variance with one another ; but in point of fact it forms no inconvenient restriction, for scarcely in the case of any one of the more difficult passages of Holy Scripture has such a consent been shown. Even that interpretation of the passage 'on this rock I will build my Church', which is at once dearest to the Papacy and actually correct, is confronted with the conflicting interpretation of Origen and of some others. Nevertheless, in principle that injunction has the effect of strangling in the bonds of a human pronouncement of bygone time the freedom which learning may rightfully claim to understand every writing in accordance with the best of its judgement

and belief, and with the help of all the materials furnished by the progress that education may have made.

Of the wider injunction, to interpret Holy Scripture only in *the Church's* sense, Möhler himself anticipates that it will be scoffed at, as equivalent to saying: 'View Scripture through the spectacles of the Church.' I should not precisely avail myself of this hackneyed figure, but in any case the purport of the injunction is: 'In the Scripture you have leave only to rediscover the dogma and custom of the Church.' In this way the main assault of Protestantism is repelled, but further tradition, or rather the authority of the Church, is no longer ranged alongside of, but above, Holy Scripture. On the side of modern Catholic theology this involves all the harsher self-contradiction, when she admits that even the Church's proof of a dogma out of the Bible is not secured from error, but only the dogma itself. But supposing that the Church herself has occasionally erred in the sense she has assigned to passages of Scripture, on which she has based a dogma, how can even the most devout learning be for ever committed to this misleading interpretation?

In another respect, where the question no longer concerns immunity from error and absence of freedom, and more especially has nothing to do with an injunction, the exposition at Trent shows good sense. Training up in the Church, in the way of familiarity with Christian life and thought as set forth therein, is requisite in order to penetrate to the depths of the religious import of Holy Scripture. The fair Protestant rejoinder does not consist in the assertion that every one is competent to interpret Scripture rightly, but only he who is furnished with materials suitable for the

purpose, and the individual only while within the limits of the collective learned investigation of Scripture. This may also be termed a tradition, but it is one of a purely human kind, which is highly esteemed as an aid to knowledge among genuine Protestant investigators of Scripture. Moreover, the importance of Christianity as a present force in the Church for belief in Holy Scripture and for the comprehension of it has always been recognized by Protestantism, only that it considers the blessing for Church life arising out of familiarity with Holy Scripture to be no less great when we recognize an elasticity in the way of reciprocal relationship. But this familiarity can only be attained by versions of the Bible in the tongues of the people, and placed with confidence in the hands of those who reach out for them.

For the contrary procedure of the Romish Church her theologians urge that it is a Protestant calumny that Holy Scripture has been interdicted to Catholic people by the Popes. They have only introduced a definite regulation to prevent the faithful from being misled by falsified translations on the part of heretics. They add that better instructed Protestants have often admitted the calumny. But this is true only so far as that a prohibition of an unconditional character and impracticable under the circumstances has been ascribed to the papal authorities. For where it was possible, the limitation ordered by Pius IV, and by Clement VIII, was carried out, inasmuch as the father confessor seldom cared for the responsibility of guaranteeing that a layman who has hankering after the Bible will not thereby become wavering in his papal belief. The more decided the hankering the greater is the gravity of the case; while to obtain a permit from the Roman

Congregation of the *Index Expurgatorius* was a still more difficult and costly matter.

If Protestant versions had actually falsified the sacred text—a thing which in every individual passage where it was proved would immediately have been recognized and corrected by Protestant scrupulousness with regard to the Bible—it simply rests with the Catholic authorities to disseminate, not strictly speaking Catholic, but faithful translations; and the literary languages of Europe are by no means deficient in Catholic writers. The genuine reason for that dread that the Bible should be in the hands of the people is the experience that the Catholic laity easily become puzzled with regard to their Church, when they find so different a type of Christianity in Holy Scripture from that which this Church presents to them; absolutely nothing distinct as to auricular confession and masses for the dead, as to the Popedom, prayers to the saints, the cult of Mary, indulgences, and Purgatory. The simple-minded man may well be in the same position as that related of bishop John VI of Meissen, who said, ‘As often as I read in the Bible, I find in it a wholly different religion from that which we now have.’ Therefore from primitive times it is to Protestantism that the Bible has paid its addresses.

To meet this danger accruing from the Bible, Perrone with much simplicity adduces the consideration that God said to Eve, when face to face with the tree of knowledge: ‘Ye shall not eat of it, lest ye die.’¹ No doubt Holy Scripture also is a tree of knowledge, but it is of Christian knowledge; therefore at the same time a tree of life, and one that God has not forbidden. On the contrary, the layman, when he reads the New

¹ Gen. iii. 3.

Testament, finds the saying of our Lord: 'Ye search the Scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life, and these are they which bear witness of Me.'¹ The Jews at Berea were commended because they searched the Scriptures daily.² Timothy, as having been from a child instructed in the Holy Scriptures, is reminded that as given by God, they are 'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for discipline in righteousness'.³ The following passages, on the other hand, have been commonly brought forward as supporting the prerogative of tradition: the words of Jehovah to His people: 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it,'⁴ and St. Paul's Epistle to the congregation founded by him: 'Ye are our epistle, written in the heart, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God.'⁵ This is simply the direct character of the religious relationship to God as forming the core and living force of Christianity, by which too it has been able to disseminate itself among the nations, by being written without pen and ink by means of the Spirit in their hearts. When St. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, 'Hold fast to the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle,'⁶ it was no doubt quite clear for them what he had taught them orally and in his earlier letter, but it is not so for us. Christ thus rebuked the Jews: 'Ye leave the commandment of God, and hold fast the tradition of men.'⁷ He calls that tradition 'a plant which His heavenly Father had not planted'⁸. The Apostle exhorts the Colossians: 'Take heed lest there be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain

¹ John v. 39.⁴ Jer. xxxi. 33.⁷ Mark vii. 8.² Acts xvii. 11.⁵ 2 Cor. iii. 3.⁸ Matt. xv. 13.³ See 2 Tim. iii. 15 f.⁶ 2 Thess. ii. 15.

deceit after the tradition of men.' ¹ It is obvious that those statements as to the blessing to be drawn from Holy Scripture could apply only to the Old Testament, but the conclusion is inevitable that they are still more applicable to the Book which is the peculiar basis of Christianity, the New Testament. It is also self-evident that the sayings which are opposed to tradition are only directed against human ordinances, sometimes of the Pharisees, sometimes of supposed philosophers : but to the ear of the layman it may nevertheless have the ring of a forecast, an evil omen in reference to the ordinances of men, which in later times under the name of tradition have established themselves alongside of and above the Word of God. Christ, it is true, has not said : ' Go forth and distribute Bibles ' ; but, as is shown by His judgment with regard to the portion of Holy Scripture then available, after there have been bestowed upon us, in lieu of the fiery tongues of Pentecost, the metallic tongues of the printing press, He would surely not have disdained this great means of Christian teaching by which His Word has been made at home and preached in every cottage.

We are far from denying that lack of understanding has also deduced much that is foolish from Holy Scripture. In order to comprehend it, we must address ourselves to it with understanding ; in order to make the blessing it offers fully our own, with devotion and moral earnestness. Therefore the bare flinging of Bibles without any instruction among an uneducated Catholic or even heathen multitude is in itself only pious zeal coupled with want of intelligence. As against insistence upon each isolated word of the Bible Catholicism was justified in saying : The Church is more

¹ Col. ii. 8.

human, more living, more open to interchange of views, and addresses herself more to the requirements of each age than a Book completed more than eighteen hundred years ago. Further, the rejection of everything Catholic, which is not found in the Christianity of the Bible, would be narrow-minded and unfair, for it would be to treat Christianity as a mere piece of antiquity, to misunderstand the claims of historical development, and to disavow the ever fresh and living fountain of Jacob's well ¹. In denying an infallible Church we deny only an infallible, soul-subduing tradition consisting of definite propositions: we deny what the papal prelate ² maintained as against Luther, that the authority of the Pope and of the Church is greater than that of Holy Scripture, and what a prelate not long since deceased ventured to maintain ³, that Holy Scripture is to begin with an external form, a Divine vessel, which is for the first time filled with trustworthy spiritual contents by means of the Catholic Church in virtue of her office as teacher. Lacordaire ⁴, versatile, and loyal to his Church, the pupil of one whose aims had been high and who had fallen ⁵, wrote thus to a young man who had informed him that he had become unorthodox as regards the invocation of saints, adoration of pictures, and the sale of masses, and had found another kind of Christianity

¹ See John iv. 6 ff.

² Cardinal Alexander, several times papal legate or nuntio to Germany, and notably at the time of the Diet of Worms, 1521. ³ Ketteler. [H.]

⁴ Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, a celebrated French divine, d. 1861. After having been a student of law he turned to theology, and was ordained priest. At the time of the revolution of July, 1830, the Roman Catholic element in France thought to increase its influence by preaching liberty. Lacordaire was an active supporter of this view. He acquired a great reputation as a writer, as well as a preacher at Notre Dame in Paris. He was also a member of the French Academy.

⁵ See p. 72. De Lamennais' fearless utterances led to frequent judicial censures.

in the Bible : 'What sort of religion is that a man makes up for himself with the help of a book ? The Book is God's gift, but your interpretation of it is by no means such. Who guarantees that your thoughts are not foisted in as a substitute for God's ? The heathen carves himself a god out of wood or marble, the Protestant does the same out of the Bible. If there is a true religion upon earth it must be the highest visible authority, something which speaks, acts, commands, humbles, exalts, something which stands as high above us as God stands above men.'

But Catholic theology has itself admitted, what even apart from this is undeniable, that the Church's exposition of Scripture is not infallible. Protestantism in its development takes this view of Holy Scripture: it considers the Old Testament as the lofty memorial of the religion of a people and of their Divine guidance, which has become the forecast and the foundation of the world-wide religion; the New Testament as the record of primitive Christianity in its purity and energy, the model of all Christian life, not a law as regards its letter, but the fundamental law of an institution for deliverance and atonement throughout all time. And precisely because this is its view Protestant learning is least tempted, in imitation of the manifold senses of early Catholic interpretation of Scripture, to deceive itself with regard to the actual import of a Book of the Bible. Notwithstanding, doubt and differences do remain as to individual passages. Also the utterances of the Catholic Church, especially those of Trent, have undergone various interpretations, with reference to which the Pope has, it is true, reserved to himself the decision, and yet when there has actually occurred a dispute he has up to this time been in no hurry to give

it. The fancy picture of that Divine office of teaching collapses, as soon as one casts a glance at the inexorable, historical reality. For three hundred years, till the 8th of December, 1869,¹ this office had been discharged by the Pope alone. What then has he done in this ever present, all-vivifying activity? When invoked to give a decision in the quarrel of the great monkish Orders as to what was necessary to salvation, he evaded doing so, and this was the most prudent course. In the Jansenist² strife he, acting as the tool of the Jesuits, thrust out of his Church a deeply rooted piety, based upon St. Paul and St. Augustine, and, in obedience to a court intrigue, condemned Fénelon's³ book of the *Maxims of the Saints* concerning the inner life, the most Christ-like book of this time. In our days he has raised to the status of a dogma a disputed proposition, incapable of proof, unimportant to Christian piety, and by various anathemas, as violent as they are lacking in intelligence, has bound it up with the development of Catholic theology. These are the workings of this supreme office of teaching, which the Holy Spirit, it is asserted, fills with spiritual capacity.

On the other hand, the greatest blessing which Protestantism has up to the present bestowed upon the world, besides the spiritual freedom which is another name for itself, is the familiarity of the people

¹ The day on which the Vatican Council met.

² Jansenism was a reaction within the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries against the theological casuistry and general spirit of the Jesuit Order, and claimed to be based on the teaching of St. Augustine. Its founder was Cornelius Jansen, d. 1638. The movement was condemned by Urban VIII and many of his successors.

³ See p. 17. His *Explication des Maximes des Saints* is the book here referred to (published 1697). Innocent VII, under the influence of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and Mme. de Maintenon, condemned much of it as heretical.

with their Bible. Catholicism has taught the people at least partially to read. Protestantism has put into their hands what was best worth reading. A house in which the Bible is the Book of reading and edification for young and old, will gradually be as much familiarized with God as were the patriarchs, with Christ as were the disciples. There every doubt can find a solution, every temptation a warning, every pain a consolation, every joy a moderating influence and hallowing.

The Catholic Church desired in the case of each individual not to grant this blessing until after special deliberation on the part of certain priests and by written permission, and so too to refuse it at pleasure. Certainly the popular intelligence must feel it to be an insult that God's Word to mankind, and the Testament of Christ intended for the use of His Christendom, is only to reach Christians under special precautions; nay, can be refused to them, especially where this refusal, evoked, we may grant, by Protestant colporteurs, has reached such a pitch of passion that the priest collects the Bibles and burns them in an *auto da fé*. This must surely appear to be a crime, while even the ordinary person hears, on the other hand, that the old and great Church teachers have exhorted every one to read the Holy Scripture and to find therein salvation. Perrone no doubt assures us that, if Clement I¹ urged the reading of the Bible, while Clement XI² forbade it to the utmost of his power, they both simply acted on the differing circumstances of the time, and had for their sole regard the welfare of the faithful. Both were to be obeyed, as it behoves children to accord obedience to their fathers, although they give them

¹ See p. 112.

² (Giovanni Francesco Albani), Pope 1700-21.

different directions at different times. It might probably, however, be difficult to demonstrate, and it would bring little credit to the Church on its educative side, that Christian communities towards the end of the first century, scarcely yet come over from heathenism or Judaism, and still surrounded on all sides by both, already threatened by non-Christian heretics with enticing temptations, were so highly educated that they could one and all be invited without any hesitation to investigate the Scriptures, while after sixteen hundred years they have to be as much as possible withheld from doing so. The action of the Romish Church may have been prudent in this, but it was not Christ-like, and an opposition now necessarily futile, which merely leads to the saying being circulated that God's Vicegerent is afraid of God's Word being published, is not even prudent. Utterances such as have at times been heard since the days of Cardinal Hosius¹, that it were better to abide by the Church even if it gave no Bible at all, are in fact only artless admissions of the injury which Holy Scripture, fighting as it does on the side of the Protestant, has from time to time done to the Catholic Church, but they sound to the simple intelligence of Christian people like blasphemies.

As long as a despotic State has made a league with the papal Church to enforce spiritual subjection, there is at all events a chance of success in holding prophets and apostles also under lock and bolt. Yet we learn through Perrone that Rosa Madiai², much discussed

¹ Stanislaus Hosius, a Polish Cardinal, and a leading opponent of Protestantism in Poland, d. 1579.

² In 1852 in the course of religious persecution within Tuscany, Francesco and Rosa Madiai were sentenced to four years' rigorous punishment in a penitentiary for reading the Bible for the edification of themselves and their household.

some years since, did far greater harm than was reported of her at that time on the other side of the Alps, in having distributed not less than 11,000 copies of the Bible in Italian. Even then, in 'the dry tree', when the distribution of Bibles led to imprisonment, there took place what is permitted now 'in the green tree', when the Bible can be freely sold and given away throughout the whole kingdom of Italy. In the face of the law-abiding State which protects the Church in her freedom without obeying her hierarchy, in the face of the present methods of business and the plague of Bible Societies, of which the Roman Church shows so great a fear, the papal prohibition will for the most part only enhance the desire for the forbidden thing; and he who is already wishing for a Bible because doubts have come upon him whether the right form of Christianity is to be found in the Pope's Church, will not await a translation with notes, licensed by the Pope, before he ventures to look into the Bible with his own eyes. Accordingly, with the Bible in the hands and hearts of the people, Roman Catholicism cannot long exist, and consequently in this fact there lies a weighty sentence as to its future.

CHAPTER III

THE CLERGY

A. The Priesthood

THE clergy—so termed in accordance with Old Testament memories, so far as the priestly stock, denied the possession of land, are considered as having their inheritance in the Lord and as being His inheritance—are, according to Catholic teaching, the Order instituted by Christ, and through a consecration imparted in unbroken descent endowed with peculiar gifts of grace for the administration of the Sacraments and the government of the Church—the medium of all intercourse between Christ and Christian people (the laity)—so that the gate of heaven is opened to no one to whom it is not opened by the priest. Among the members of the Church is found, according to Divine arrangement, a hierarchical organization containing as its steps the diaconate, the priesthood, the episcopate—the first not having attained priestly powers, and the last-named alone possessed in the full sense of the power to impart the priesthood with the exclusive right of confirming and ordaining. The clergy at their ordination are pledged by a vow of chastity to celibacy. The Council of Trent based the priesthood, in accordance with Old Testament principles, upon the offering of sacrifice in the mass.

Protestantism considers the spiritual Order as an office which has its permanent origin in the community,

established in accordance with Christ's example and with the blessing of the Apostles for the sake of orderly arrangement in the carrying on of teaching, of the Sacraments, and of pastoral care. Its various dignities are only based on human regulations. Its members are free to contract any honourable marriage.

The Catholic view is found substantially as early as the letters of St. Ignatius¹, which belong to the second decade of the second century, or, if even the shorter text of these is not accepted as genuine, it yet came into existence about the middle of that century as an ecclesiastical ideal, which was already conceived as in course of realization. In the time of the Church's persecutions many of her spiritual shepherds, who were most exposed to danger, acquitted themselves as genuine shepherds, and glorified by a heroic death a life conspicuous for austere virtue. While the Old Testament was at first the only Scripture, and still remained unique, there arose a tendency to regard the Gospel merely as a new, rejuvenated, and elucidated law, and consequently to find in the Old Testament hierarchy the type of a new hierarchy, only with higher duties and higher claims. The noble image of a shepherd was adopted somewhat literally on this behalf, extended from one supreme shepherd to all his honoured subordinates, and the congregations were regarded as unreasoning flocks—the idea which Lainez², the General of the Jesuits, worked out in his famous speech at Trent: 'Sheep are animals which have no reason, and therefore also no share in the government of the Church.' Thus there came

¹ Bishop of Antioch, martyred under Trajan circ. 107. There is a long-standing controversy as to the genuineness of some of the extant epistles, attributed to him.

² See p. 40.

into existence something like two Churches, as is shown, moreover, in old German Church architecture : one of these, the Choir, being placed higher and with loftier arches, as the priests' Church, the dominant one; while the other is the people's Church, which receives its law and salvation from the former. By virtue of the grace derived from office it was unhesitatingly asserted that even the most profligate priest possesses a higher dignity than the most pious layman ; the priesthood thus acquiring a boundless glorification. This led on the part of the people to a fanciful exaltation, which it was quite open to hostile critics to term blasphemy. 'The Lord God,' they said, 'required six days to create the world ; the priest creates the God-Man in a moment'—and consumes Him also.

The Catholic theory, however, is not carried out with logical completeness. Among Sacraments marriage, according to old traditional opinion, is not completed by the action of the priest. Other Sacraments, too, can, in case of necessity, be administered by laymen. 'Where the clergy are not at hand,' says Tertullian¹, 'thou mayest thyself make the offering and baptize, and art thine own priest.' Frumentius², afterwards consecrated bishop of Abyssinia by St. Athanasius, while yet a layman founded the Church there, and performed the sacred liturgical service. St. Augustine relates how, in a shipwreck, a layman and a catechumen hung upon a board, the layman baptized the catechumen, the newly baptized pronounced the absolution over the former, and thus they both met their drowning with good courage. Baptism by lay hands in cases of necessity has always remained the

¹ See p. 110. *Exhort. cast.* 7. [H.]

² The 'Apostle of Ethiopia', consecrated some time earlier than 368. [H.]

custom. In the Middle Ages it happened not unfrequently that knights in peril of death, where no priest was available, heard each other's confessions. The clergy had often to share with political authority the government of the Church, especially the conduct of general Councils. Lastly, it has always been an encouragement to notice how the mysticism of the Middle Ages formed a link, uniting in this way all schools of thought. The Mystics, without having to fall out with the clergy, yet troubling themselves little about them and all their methods of salvation, knew themselves to be in immediate union with Christ. Nevertheless this clergy, as a Christian hierarchy, as an authority immediately representing God and the risen Christ, grasping in powerful hand the keys of the kingdom of heaven, ruled the Church and a good part of the world.

That dominion over the world was at the commencement of the sixteenth century already broken. Yet the clergy still possessed their wealth. They were partly affected by the new humanistic culture, partly sunk in ignorance, partly seized with the deep religious presentiments of this time, partly immoral, godless, and yet fanatical. When the leaders of this clergy set themselves against that which Luther perceived to be the saving truth, he turned to the people, the *Christian* people, while on the still obscure basis of the ideal Church he asserted the priesthood of every true Christian, and that the Holy Spirit teaches him all that appertains to right belief. 'All Christians are of a truly spiritual Order, and there is among them no difference merely depending on office. That which has crept out of the depth may boast itself that it has already been consecrated priest, bishop, and Pope.'

From this follows what the Articles of Smalcald¹ infer, that if the lawfully appointed bishops become the foes of the Church and refuse to ordain suitable persons, the congregations recover their rights. For where the Church is, there is also the right to dispense the Gospel. For this reason, therefore, it is needful that the Church resume its right to summon and consecrate its servants. This gift is specially bestowed upon the Church, and no force of man can wrest it from the Church. It is a reversion of the misused official power to its source. Thence there can always emerge anew from the Christian people a priesthood of kindred character. 'Therefore,' continues Luther, 'the consecration by a bishop is nothing but the taking, in the place and person of the whole assembly, of one out of the multitude who all have the same power, and instructing him to administer this power for the others. . . . Just as if ten brothers, co-heirs as children of a king, were to choose one to rule their heritage for them, they would all be in fact kings and of equal power, and yet *one* would be bidden to rule. And, to put the matter yet more clearly, if a little band of pious Christian laymen were seized and set down in a desert, without having with them a consecrated priest, and were agreed on one thing, and chose one from among them, and charged him with the office of baptizing, of saying mass, of absolving and preaching, he would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops and Popes had consecrated him.' So also at the court and common council of the city of Prague: 'The rights of the community demand that either one, or so many of the community as wish, should be chosen. These administer the office in the place and name of

¹ See p. 9.

all those possessed of identical claims, to the end that nothing disorderly may occur among the people of God. For in a community where each has unrestricted rights, no one must assume them to himself apart from the will and choice of the whole community, while in case of need every one may avail himself of them. On the other hand, papistical priestfolk to prove their priesthood have only to point to their shaven heads and grease, and, besides, to the long gown. These we readily concede to them, that they may glory in dirt; for we know that a sow also can easily be shorn and greased and clothed in a long gown.'

It arises from the bluntness of that age, enhanced by the animosity of the conflict, that Luther, without thinking how many a pious youth has taken sincere and lofty vows in his heart at his consecration to this Catholic priesthood, only regards, and scoffs at, its externals. Möhler, repaying like with like, criticized thus: 'With the method of a genuine demagogue, and by means of the most nauseous flattery of the masses, it disposes of every Christian separately, with a completeness to which, in the sense it carries, the merest glance on the part of an unprejudiced person into his own heart is sufficient to give the lie.'¹

The Reformation on its external and creditable side was no doubt an uprising of the democratic principle against the aristocratic priesthood. It is the idea belonging to almost all modern social relationships, and applied in this case to the spiritual office, that all lawful power over societies which have attained their majority should be plenary in character and on the principle of representative government. Herein the Church even anticipated the political view of the

¹ *Symbolik*, p. 406. [H.]

matter, since this idea of the representative, although necessarily in an obscure form, hovered about the earliest Synods, which Tertullian termed a worthy representation of the Christian cause. It is not hereby denied that the spiritual order corresponds to the will of God, and accordingly in a true and direct sense is of Divine appointment—a point, however, upon which old Protestant theology and a modern party in the Protestant Church lay a somewhat one-sided stress. All lawful power is bestowed from above, from God, but also from below, through the people, just as the latest kingdom has, without hesitation, combined these two foundations of all authoritative claim: ‘By the grace of God, and through the will of the nation.’

But Luther’s exalted view of the ordinary Christian as certain of his belief and ready every day to die in its support, is characteristic of his custom, especially in the troublous younger days of his conflict, of seeing only heaven and hell, and not the many combinations of both which have place on earth. He considers the Christian man as such to be ideal, as he ought to be, filled with the Holy Spirit by Baptism and implanted in Christ: the natural man he has elsewhere depicted in quite too gloomy colours. Nevertheless, the conditions of actual life involve the necessity that even such Christians, to prevent disorderly conduct arising among them, should have a spiritual office controlling them, just as a free people has magistrates. For that ideal conception however, after which all Christian reality strives, Luther could appeal to Holy Scripture itself.

Christ promised to all who were His the Holy Spirit, this Divine verity, and in the apostolic Church those were first regarded as regular Christians who

had received this Spirit from God.¹ It was considered to be as the fulfilment of the utterance of God through the prophet: 'I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. I will write my laws in your heart: and one shall no longer teach his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know Me from the least to the greatest.'² Filled with this Spirit they were able also to proclaim the Word of God in the congregation. But the flattery of the people begins with the Prince of the Apostles himself, who writes to the Christians of Asia Minor without further limitation: 'Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood.'³ This is, in its turn, an echo of the voice of God from Sinai: 'Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation.'⁴ Notwithstanding, there existed in the Hebrew nation a hierarchical priesthood; but still the Spirit bore concurrent and vigorous sway in this nation alongside of the priestly caste, in the shape, first, of the free prophetic office, only based upon the authority of this Spirit; and then afterwards of scriptural erudition.

In the Catholic Church, too, there lingers long the memory of the universal priesthood, supported especially by the Revelation of St. John⁵. Justin⁶ writes: 'We are a truly high-priestly family of God, as also God Himself bears witness, where He says that among the heathen in all places sacrifices well-pleasing and pure are offered to Him⁷. But God accepts a sacrifice from none but through His priests.' Irenaeus⁸ says: 'All righteous persons belong to the priestly order.' Tertullian⁹: 'Are not we laity also priests?

¹ Acts viii. 16 f.

² Joel ii. 28; cf. Acts ii. 17; see Jer. xxxi. 33 f.

³ 1 Pet. ii. 9.

⁴ Exod. xix. 6.

⁵ Rev. i. 6, v. 10.

⁶ *c. Tryph.* 116. [H.]

⁷ See Mal. i. 11.

⁸ iv. 20.

⁹ *Exhort. cast.* 7. [H.]

Where there are three of you, although laymen, in Christ's name, there is the Church.' St. Augustine¹ seeks to reconcile the ideal conception with the ecclesiastical conditions of his time: 'The words, "They shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years,"² are not spoken of bishops and presbyters only, who are called in a special sense priests in the Church, but just as we are all called Christians by virtue of the mystic chrism, so we are all priests, since we are members of the *One Priest*.'

The universal priesthood is, no doubt, only a figurative expression, in which, however, there lies a very definite protest against the pretensions of any privileged sacerdotal order, just as the claim that all men, from Adam downwards, are ennobled with the longest line of ancestry is opposed to the pretensions of noble birth as implying a nobler race of men. And if St. Peter bases the universal priesthood of Christians upon the fact that they offer spiritual sacrifices which are pleasing to God through Jesus Christ³, then the sacrifice of the mass-priest as well must be of a spiritual kind; accordingly, his elevation above the common order of Christians disappears, and the Scripture which declares the priesthood of all who are real Christians remains irreconcilable with the tradition of a priestly order intervening between Christ and His people. Moreover, the name of priest, in itself considered, the shortened form of presbyter, the senior of the community, the 'Alderman', is of quite harmless import; it is used in German poetry, in compound words, and in some old German dialects, without prejudice, to designate pastor. It has only fallen into disuse in our Protestant forms of speech, so far as the

¹ See p. 32.² Rev. xx. 6.³ 1 Pet. ii. 5.

implication of a necessary mediatorial office has been read into it.

B. The Episcopate

The essential meaning of the Episcopate is that the bishop acting on this side of the Alps, for the most part in a circle of larger extent, is the sole ecclesiastical source of every spiritual function. This high privilege, as instituted by Christ, must, however, have been at any rate discernible in the acts of the apostolic Church. But not only is no trace found of such institution of the Episcopate, but, from the records of the apostolic Church, it appears undeniably that the designation bishop, i.e. overseer, according to a not unfrequent appellation of secular authorities in Greek and Roman modes of speech, is only another name for *presbyteros*; the former, springing from Greek usage, being rather the designation of office, the latter, in accordance with Hebrew usage, indicating rather dignity by reason of age. Therefore it is that we find several bishops in one community. St. Paul causes the presbyters of the Church of Ephesus to come to Miletus, that he may take leave of them. He addresses them on that occasion as bishops of this Church¹. In the Epistle to the Philippians he salutes the Church with its bishops and deacons². He makes no mention of the presbyters: plainly they are the same as the bishops. No less clear is it from all his letters to the Churches connected with him, that these, in co-operation with their presbyters, control their public affairs. In vain do we look for a single head, a bishop in the later sense. So, too, St. Peter exhorts the elders to be upright bishops³.

The same situation is shown as existing still in

¹ Acts xx. 17; cf. 28.

² Phil. i. 1.

³ 1 Pet. v. 1. 2.

records which border on apostolic times. Clement¹, who passes as one of the first bishops of Rome, wrote an apostolic letter in the name of his Church to that of Corinth, in order to compose differences which had broken out there, viz. factious opposition to the elder presbyters. In this case, where it would have been so natural, he makes no reference anywhere to the bishop as chief of the Church. He invariably has before his eyes several who are on a level as regards privilege. He calls them sometimes presbyters, sometimes bishops, and is aware merely of this, that the Apostles have instituted 'bishops and deacons' in the various districts and cities. In the *Shepherd of Hermas*², also written in Rome, which was accepted by many Churches of the first century as a constituent part of their Scriptures, there is said with reference to this Clement as a command of the angel how to deal with the revelations disclosed to the writer: 'Write two books, and give the one to Clement, the other to Grapte³. Grapte will impress it on the widows and orphans, Clement will send it to external Churches, for thus it befits him: but thou shalt read it to the presbyters of the Church.' Here Clement appears simply as the one on whom is laid the connexion with foreign Churches. To meet these facts the Jesuit subterfuge, devised by Petavius⁴, accepted by Perrone, viz. that in this infancy of the Church the presbyters, all, or at any rate most of them, were so ordained that they became at the same time bishops, is nothing else than a shamefaced admission of their original identity.

¹ See p. 112.

² I. Vision 2. An early Christian allegorical and didactic book. The author has been by some identified with the Hermas of Rom. xvi. 14.

³ Probably chief among the deaconesses of the Roman Church.

⁴ A French Roman Catholic theologian, d. 1652.

The recollection of this was long retained in the Church, even under very different conditions. St. Jerome testifies¹: 'Thus the presbyter is the same as the bishop. And before parties arose in religion through the instigation of the devil, the Churches were governed by the joint council of presbyters. But when each considered that those whom he had baptized were his, not Christ's, it was resolved throughout the whole world that one chosen by the presbyters should be set over the rest, whose duty it should be to care for the whole Church. If any one should hold this to be my view, not that of the Scriptures, that bishop and presbyter are identical, the one denoting age, the other office, let him read the Apostle's words to the Philippians². Accordingly as the presbyters know that in consonance with ecclesiastical observance they are subjected to him who is set over them, so the bishops also may perceive that it is in virtue rather of usage than of an actual appointment by the Lord that they are greater than the presbyters.' This verdict of a great Church teacher, held in esteem for sanctity, is admitted into the canonical law-book, and we further gather many like utterances of Church Fathers down to the seventh century.

But an institution like the Episcopate, which emerged as so powerful in the second century, and forthwith took possession of the whole Church, could not have been introduced as a novelty by means of a definite resolution over the whole world—for where would there have been at that time the power and the individual will to carry into effect such a resolution?—but, as St. Jerome, correcting himself, admits later, it came into being through a silently growing usage, by

¹ On Tit. i. 7.

² Phil. i. 1.

a potency of circumstances greater than all human selection. Christianity, so soon as it emerged from the idyll of the shore of the lake of Galilee, became a religion of the large towns, and spread itself from the chief cities of the Roman Empire over the surrounding territories. If in such a city thousands were converted to Christ, since they had as yet no large places of assembly, they could only gather in various private houses. But through the unifying power of the Gospel these *house-churches* of a single town considered themselves nevertheless as members of one community, and were governed by the joint council of their presbyters. This is plain from the Apostle's letters to the Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians, as well as from apostolic history. Such a college of presbyters needed a president, who obtained the position either by the choice of his colleagues or as his own doing on account of his age or special qualifications. If others belonged to the individual *house-churches*, his first desire was to see to the common welfare, and to him was referred by preference the name of the Overseer, the *Episcopus*. Thus his increasing power was limited by the pressing necessity of retaining in unity the constantly growing number of *house-churches* and the communities which were being formed round about the town. But when in this way the name of bishop began to designate a higher dignity, it naturally happened that a presbyter also, who only presided over a small community, had a fancy to be saluted by this designation. Hence the many bishops of insignificant places, who are to be found in the countries where the Church existed early; and also numerous village bishops.

Inasmuch as nothing was known to history of a

definite institution of the Episcopate, the bishops were viewed as successors of the Apostles, and upon this was based their claim to high authority. That is not the earliest mode of regarding them. Throughout the letters of Ignatius there runs a still higher conception, that the bishop takes the place of God or of Christ, but the presbyter that of the Apostles. The bishop is to receive honour as Christ, the presbyters as the Apostles. In the Apostles a twofold relationship is exhibited. In the one as the first disciples they are the originators and representatives of united Christendom. Not only the command 'This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me,'¹ but many another also was spoken in like manner through the Apostles, and reaching out to all those who by their word believe on Christ. In this relationship all true Christians are followers of the Apostles through following Christ. In the other relationship they were raised by their personal faith in Jesus above all mortal things, and as witnesses to the record of His Divine life on earth were appointed to found the Church: 'As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.'² In this relationship they could have no successors at all, and the one whom they ventured to put in the place of 'the lost child' was at any rate subjected to the one very definitely emphasized condition, viz. to be selected from among those who had been with the Apostles during all the time from the baptism of John till the day when Christ was taken up, a witness of His Resurrection³. Such persons after the lapse of a century were no more to be found. But another, who did not hold that personal trusteeship, but was called by the Spirit of Christ and by the power of his own

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 25.² John xx. 21.³ Acts i. 22.

spirit, placed himself as a compeer alongside of the original Apostles¹, and they, even though it was with reluctance, held out their hand to him as the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Accordingly there is likewise no trace throughout of a peculiar grace belonging to the office of the Episcopate, bestowed by consecration, and held to descend from the Apostles in an unbroken succession. The highest bestowal, however, could only be that of the Divine itself, the Holy Spirit. But that, according to the belief of the Church, is imparted to all Christians by Baptism and Confirmation. No doubt this, in itself unlimited, can be imparted in very various degrees. This, however, would only mean various grades of the moral and religious faculty. The Catholic Church has had truly Christian bishops, but no one will maintain that their holiness has been of a wholly different kind, quite different from other believers and saints: rather we meet with repeated complaints on their own part, that they were better and happier in their simple obscurity, and now as bishops are torn asunder by the distractions and seductions of secular affairs. But even if we grant that spiritual gift to be of a wholly special kind, it nevertheless will go hard with the unbroken succession solely through episcopal hands. It certainly does not come from the Apostles exclusively; for how often during the gradual development of the Episcopate must it have happened that mere presbyters chose and consecrated a bishop from among themselves, and how many consecrations of bishops may there have been which were invalid, as having been performed by bishops who had been thrust in and afterwards ejected as unauthorized. Especially was this the case at

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11.

Rome. How easily then may we here find views and facts which gainsay the validity of these consecrations!

Nevertheless we find some things which, though not of apostolic foundation, prefigure the Catholic Episcopate in apostolic times, viz. the powerful local activity which had been exercised by St. Paul during his long sojourn at Ephesus, by St. John after him in the same place, by St. Peter at Antioch, above all by St. James, the brother of the Lord, at Jerusalem, and in like manner probably in other towns also by other apostolic men, of whom only vague traditions have come down to us. But this activity was not dependent upon a particular office. It was purely personal. Such men in the next century, after the founding of the Episcopate, were looked upon as the first bishops, so far as they did not appear as Apostles to stand even above them.

The German Church also has had some great and many pious bishops, records of whom have come down to later centuries, from the Cathedral of Cologne to the Julius Hospital at Würzburg. The German Reformation was not directed against the bishops, if they only chose to allow free scope to the Gospel. First their hostility led to a testing of their claim, which could only be recognized from an historical standpoint, or, according to the phrase employed, as a human decision. Then the desire of the princes for the princely possessions of the bishops in the Lutheran Church, and the democratic tendency in the Reformed, led to further steps in the overthrow of the bishops. Accordingly under other political conditions when remodelled on Protestant lines they have maintained themselves, in Sweden and in England even to their own astonishment, with the Catholic fetters of a peculiar grace

appertaining to their office. Moreover, among the German Protestant people the name bishop has still a good sound. It was only the bare court title which was objected to in the Prussian bishops of Frederick William III¹. The institution of the office of *evangelical* bishop, as that of the chief pastor and superintendent of a wide-reaching diocese, with presidency in the Consistory as well, would scarcely meet with grave opposition, provided only that the will of the Church, represented effectually and sincerely by Synods, were in its favour.

But the present Catholic Episcopate, apart from the question of its essential character, is in a sickly condition besides, for a special reason. In the first centuries the bishop was chosen by the people and clergy of his diocese, and was in all important matters bound by the council of his presbyters. Popular election had to succumb under dismal party spirit, so soon as the bishops were chosen no longer for hardship and martyrdom, but for riches and power. This form of election held its ground longest in Rome. Even Gregory VII² was borne aloft upon its buckler, though already against the rules. The canons were now electors, the clergy of the bishop's own church. His obligation was not so much to submit to their advice, as in accordance with compact to share with them definite rights and profits. But since this Gregory's time it was always the Pope, without whose recognition an elected bishop did not venture to lay hold of the pastoral staff; and this 'canonical institution' of bishops was the basis which supported the power of the later Popedom. Only in the Concordat at Fontainebleau Pius VII³ allowed this last

¹ King of Prussia, 1797-1840.

² or Hildebrand, Pope 1073-85.

³ See p. 118. The Concordat was concluded by Napoleon I as Consul in 1801.

weapon of the Papacy to be wrested from him ; but on this very account, as soon as he had seriously considered the step, he caused the Concordat to be revoked.

As long as the bishops held a high political position by means of princely power or princely wealth, the sons of high-class nobles, and more especially princes who had been posthumously born, did not accordingly disdain to receive episcopal consecration. Thus even in Rome they had to be the objects of much political regard. In particular, our German state-bishops sometimes troubled themselves very little about the Pope, and moreover not a few of them lived a very secular life as princes. Therefore it was no detriment to the ecclesiastical character of the Episcopate when, in consequence of the Revolution, the bishops were divested of their princely rank, and were mostly placed upon a salary which was moderate in comparison with the earlier state of things. But owing to the development of the modern State, and since the establishment of the later Concordats, the reigning Prince, even if a Protestant, has almost everywhere obtained that none but a person agreeable to him (*persona grata*) should be chosen bishop. Accordingly now only those persons can become bishops who are satisfactory to their sovereign and to the Pope. It may be presumed that the interests of both are concerned in the elevation of honourable and suitable men to the bishop's seat ; and such, too, the later bishops appear to be. For the rest, it must be a rare kind of being that could satisfy two interests which lie so far apart. A strong character of hierarchical tendencies or a patriotic and gentle-minded priest can scarcely become a bishop, save by an inadvertence on one side or the other. We have had plain

experience of this in the exclusion of Wessenberg from the archbishop's chair at Freiburg, and of Leopold Schmid, the professor at Giessen, from the bishopric of Mainz. It should be noted that it is incumbent upon the reigning Prince, both from conscientious motives and in the interests of the country, that vacant bishoprics should be filled up in due course, while the Pope can wait. Even the gentle and conscientious Pius, in his opposition to Napoleon I, up to the hour of weakness at Fontainebleau¹, allowed matters to come to such a pass that the Episcopate of the great French nation was dying out. The result is, that the secular prince is always at length compelled to find a candidate imposed by Rome to be acceptable. In general, the goodwill of sovereign and Pope was only bestowed in the case of men who, though otherwise suitable, were yet devoid of everything like freedom of thought. Not unfrequently insignificance passed as warranty for inoffensiveness. The ruling Prince thought, 'We shall find him tractable'. But naturally it happened that the pliant character, the simple pastor or obscure professor, when suddenly raised to a post of high dignity, gravitated through the influence of his office in the direction of the Pope. It is to him that the elected of two masters has to swear his oath of obedience. It is to him that, at the expiry of a fixed number of years, he has personally to give an account of the conduct of his office. It is from him that he receives definite authority to act, in each case limited to six years. Thus even before the Vatican Council we have modern bishops appointed 'by the grace of God and of the Pope'. In an exhibition of mutual flattery these bishops at Whitsuntide, 1862, exclaimed to the Pope:

¹ See p. 169.

'Thou art the centre of unity, thou art the Divine light prepared by the Divine wisdom for the nations, thou art the rock, thou art the very foundation of the Church!' while he found them all signalized by piety and adorned with virtues. The archbishop of Westminster [Manning] felt himself as much at home in this circle of three hundred bishops 'as if they had all been educated in the same school and trained in the same seminary'. They all were eager for the temporal rule of the Pope, collected Peter's pence, trained up a like-minded clergy, and sought to trample down all free thought. Even though the words 'to persecute heretics to the best of their power' were struck out of their oath, they would only love Protestants as people to be converted in the sense that Martin of Paderborn did, and would render more acute the divisions of their people in matters of creed, as did this bishop of Mainz. The one German bishop, Sedlnitzky, prince-bishop of Breslau, who in the contest about mixed marriages refused to obey the demand that he should stir up the Catholic population against the Protestant state, was so harassed by his colleagues and on the part of Rome that he 'voluntarily' resigned. Later, he passed over very quietly to the evangelical Church. The Concordats since the time of Napoleon have bestowed on the bishops an almost unlimited power over the clergy of their diocese, over the multitude who worship at their altars, both as regards soul and body. On the one side they are despots, on the other servants of the 'Servant of the servants of God', although in the former respect they sometimes display gentleness, and in the latter readiness. The saying of a French bishop is familiar: 'My clergy are a regiment; at the word "March" they march.' Only that sometimes it was to the interest

of Rome in the case of a bishop who took into his head to have convictions of his own, to use his clergy against him. But particularly in France a great number of the clergy can be at once dismissed by their bishop. For these displaced persons, generally also forbidden to say mass, possessed, as they are, only of the seminary training, there remains often nothing else but to eke out existence with some kind of manual labour. That is the meaning of the episcopal saying, 'Hunger is the mainstay of our discipline'. Out of the gloom of the humiliating position of the ordinary clergy there sometimes venture forth to daylight sighs, complaints which become grievous indictments. A French novel, *Le Maudit*¹, gives a dismal picture of the lot of these priests. Such histories prove nothing: they are fictitious. But as they correspond to what we know as the outcome of these conditions, and bespeak genuine knowledge arising probably from individual experience, they are of thrilling force, as making it clear that this Catholicism in its temporal passions and despotic contempt for mankind is not Christianity. The accounts of the excellent Abbé Michaud involve corresponding facts of history. In Prussia the May Laws² and the regulations arising out of them have enjoined upon the bishops not to leave the offices involving the cure of souls more than a year without a settled pastor, and have afforded to the congregations an opportunity in case of need to elect their pastor for themselves. So good an act for the inferior clergy as well as for the congregations could not at present be put into operation quite off hand; yet in it lies some hope in the future for the Catholic Church within the Protestant State. On

¹ Par l'Abbé . . . 5th edition, 1864. [H.]

² See vol. ii. p. 517 ff.

the other hand, one of the questions which, on the occasion of the centenary of 1867, was put by the authorities in Rome before the bishops for their expert opinion, was whether it be not advisable to increase the number of cases in which ministers might lawfully be deprived? This points to the disposition of the Papacy to augment the power of the bishops in the downward direction, as smart-money for its diminution in the other. It is not long since the archbishop of Paris¹ in his cathedral fell by the knife of a desperate priest. His predecessor² was shot while engaged in the noblest occupation of a bishop, viz., on the barricade, seeking to bring about reconciliation of civil war, while his successor³ met the same fate at the hands of the Communists.

C. Celibacy

The Catholic Church has made of marriage a Sacrament, i.e., an act of high sanctity, and has forbidden it to the clergy as the sacred order. We are bound, however, to recognize that in the fullness of Holy Scripture is to be found the germ of the motives inspiring this contradiction. Certainly the Old Testament, in placing the highest value on living in one's posterity, follows nature much too closely not to have bestowed unqualified honour upon the relation of the sexes which consists in lawful marriage. Even the vow of the Nazarite⁴ did not recognize this prohibition; rather there was a not unfrequent connexion between this and the earning of children from God. The con-

¹ Sibour, stabbed by Berger (who had been excommunicated), 1857. The deed was actually done at the church of St. Étienne du Mont, Paris.

² Affre, mortally wounded at the barricades, 1848, while admonishing the insurgents.

³ Darboy, assassinated May 24, 1871.

⁴ Numb. vi. 2 ff.

ception that obedience to the dictates of nature was not becoming for the higher religious life came first from without into later Judaism, and fixed itself in the celibate vow of the Essenes¹. Christ, on the other hand, compared Himself to a bridegroom. He exalted the idea of marriage as originally instituted by God, while He set forth its indissoluble character. Yet He also spoke of those to whom it was given to keep themselves from marriage for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and the Revelation of St. John regards men of this kind, 'virgins' in great number, as nearest to the throne of the Lamb². Moreover, St. Paul has, on the one hand, exalted marriage, in that he makes it a figure of the relation of the faithful to Christ, according to this apostolic similitude, the Church as the bride of the Lamb³. On the other side, he sees himself already moved to declare that a virgin who marries does not commit sin, but that such a one shall have trouble in the flesh, which he would willingly spare her. Nevertheless, he approves marriage only in the case where it has no evil concomitants; and as he himself, a celibate, in his toilsome and wandering life would have found a wife merely a hindrance, he was disposed to wish on account of the present distress that all were as he. Yet there is to be no snare. No order is to be made in this matter⁴, and his dissuasion from wedlock, subject to such decision and depending completely upon individual tastes and dispositions, is given under the presumption of the approaching end of the world. In view of this disinclination, which is already aroused towards

¹ A Jewish communistic sect in the time of our Lord, living apart in settlements in the desert to the west of the Dead Sea.

² Matt. ix. 15, xxv. 1 ff., v. 31 f., xix. 12; Rev. xiv. 4.

³ 2 Cor. xi. 2; Rev. xxi. 9, xxii. 17.

⁴ 1 Cor. vii. 35.

marriage, there are already mentioned, as a prophetic warning, the 'seducing spirits', with their doctrine of devils, who forbid to marry¹. A bishop must be the husband of one wife, and have obedient children, ruling his house well². No doubt this is only directed against second espousals after the decease of the first wife; it being presumed that the position of the minister as regards family is the accustomed and lawful one. Lastly, the Scripture bears plain testimony as to the ideal head of the Roman Church, who is asserted to have imposed upon its priesthood the direction of celibacy, that he had a mother-in-law, and that he too, like the other Apostles, continued to live as a married man³. It is nothing but a falsehood of later tradition, arising from the necessity of the case and in contradiction to the context of the Biblical passage and to what we know of the custom itself, to say that the Apostle's marriage was an angelic one, or that the sister who went about with the Apostles was not an actual wife. St. Jerome derives comfort from another source: 'Peter washed away the defilement of marriage by means of the blood of martyrdom.'

For in the Church's days of martyrdom, when along with a shrinking from the purely natural there appeared a heroic and, at the same time, rough sort of morality as the Christian ideal, there arose a glorification of the state of virginity, and with this a hesitation as to the compatibility of the priestly office with marriage. More particularly after the reception of ordination wedlock was considered as of doubtful propriety, and accordingly this was usually consummated before ordination to the diaconate, or the right reserved on

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 3.

² Tit. i. 6 f.; 1 Tim. iii. 2.

³ Matt. viii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5.

that occasion. Not unfrequently the wife was then divorced. We know this in the first instance through an old Church law which forbids the practice: 'A bishop or priest or deacon shall in no wise under the pretext of religion put away his wife. He who divorces her is to be excommunicated, and if he abides by his decision he shall be deposed.'¹ Law has no power against custom, and out of spontaneous custom, as well as out of St. Paul's advice for virgins, was made at last a universal law. A Spanish Council at Elvira (305) was the first to attempt this, but, as befitting its position, within a limited circle. But when at the great Council of Nicaea² the result of ecclesiastical morality was to demand a victory over nature, and many votes were given in favour of the new decision, there arose Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, who had lost an eye in the Christian persecutions and was so honoured among the people that miracles were ascribed to him. This aged confessor, who had never touched a woman, urged that so heavy a yoke should not be laid upon the priests; moreover that untarnished wedlock was an honourable thing, and the intercourse of the man with an honoured spouse chastity. It would be enough that, in accordance with ancient tradition, those who are admitted to the ranks of the clergy celebrate no subsequent nuptials, without any one being made to divorce the wife whom he espoused while yet a layman. In this way, we are told by the Greek Church historian of that age, Paphnutius accomplished a work which served for the benefit of the Church and the honour of the clergy, since all voted in support of his view, that it should

¹ *Can. Apost.* 5. [H.]² See p. 20.

simply be left to the discretion of individuals whether they should give up intercourse with their wives.

At the beginning of the fifth century it was the prevailing custom also in the Eastern Church to do this at the time of a bishop's consecration. The philosopher Synesius¹ indeed, when elected to be bishop of Ptolemais, urged against acceptance of the office among other things that he was not minded to separate from his wife or to live with her in clandestine intimacy. The Metropolitan of Alexandria nevertheless consecrated him. But the nature of this exception testifies to the rule. On the other hand, a Council at Gangra², whose decisions have passed into the common law of the Greek Church, in opposition to the efforts of bishop Eustathius on this point, pronounced the Church's curse upon every one who refused to receive the Holy Communion from the hand of a married priest. The Council of Trullus³ (692) combined the two, since it declared the marriage of deacons and presbyters to be lawful, provided it be contracted with a virgin before ordination, while it disallowed the marriage of bishops—a mode of settling the difficulty which was gentle but disastrous for the Church. It altogether cut off the general body of the clergy, with the lowering feeling that they were unable to attain to higher virtue, from the superior clergy, who were recruited henceforward from the monasteries; and so it has remained in the Eastern Church.

¹ Bp. of Ptolemais, circ. 410-14. 'Perhaps he was the only eminent Christian in the fourth or fifth century who ventured to maintain the parallel importance of heathen and Christian literature'—K. O. Müller, *Hist. of Lit. of Ancient Greece*, iii. 344.

² In Paphlagonia, in 360. Eustathius, bp. of Sebaste, was the founder of monasteries in the Eastern provinces of the empire.

³ In 692 (so called, because held in the mussel-shaped vaulted hall Trullus) in the imperial castle at Constantinople.

On the contrary, in the West the Roman bishop Siricius, in the oldest genuine decretal (385), determined to deprive of office all clerics from deacon upwards who, appealing to an old law, lived in wedlock, and to refuse them absolution. Since then a succession of provincial Synods introduced the law of celibacy into the Western Church, but only in theory with very wide concessions to priests' infirmities.

This was the position which Gregory VII found: the law of celibacy still acknowledged in the memories of Church people, but a part of the clergy lawfully, a larger portion irregularly, married, yet many of the latter united to daughters of respectable, nay, of noble families, after taking an oath never to desert them. The Pope only renewed the old law of celibacy (1074), but he carried it out for the most part against a desperate contest on the part of the priests, waged not only in defence of their accustomed pleasures, but also for wife and children; while he had the consciousness that ancient and good law was on his side, and addressed himself to the masses, representing to them, what however the Greek ecclesiastical law resting on Eustathius always condemned, that they could receive no blessed sacrament, no forgiveness of sins, at the hand of a married priest. Priests who were unwilling to give up their wives were at that time slain at the altar, and violence used towards these women on its steps. That heroic Pope did not hesitate to trample on every sentiment and destroy all pleasure in life, where it tended to further his great aim, the freeing of the Church from a harsh political power and the ruling of the world with ecclesiastical ideas. To this end there was needed a priesthood with a purely ecclesiastical conscience, exempt from the temptation to transmit the rich property

of the Church to acknowledged sons, severed alike from the bonds of the State and from the sentiments of home.

From that time the marriages of priests were checked, but not their licentiousness; so that Pius II¹, that witty and unheroic Pope, threw out the remark: 'Reasons have been found for denying marriage to the clergy, but perchance there are still greater to be found for restoring it to them.' It is a very gloomy picture which the two learned brothers Theiner², who later followed courses so different from one another, have presented to us of the compulsory celibacy of the clergy—a picture heightened by the design in view and the grouping, but not untrue in its facts. This was the state of things found by the Reformation. For a tax was levied on the priests' children of each year in the diocese towards the regular income of the bishop, and those who gave no occasion for such an assessment were, for that reason, accused of curtailing the bishop's revenue. Congregations moreover refused to accept a priest without a concubine, since they considered it needful for the security of their own families, and young clergy were consoled with abusive language for the renunciation which they had vowed.

In this respect the Reformation extended to the Catholic Church also, by making her perceive that she could sustain the difficult contest only on a new basis of morality. The honour of the priesthood was gradually restored, and the law of celibacy was once

¹ Pope, 1458-64 (Aeneas Sylvius).

² John and Augustine Theiner both wrote in 1828 against the celibacy of the clergy. Subsequently the former attached himself to the efforts of the German Roman Catholics in the direction of liberalism, while in 1833 Augustine resumed his allegiance to Rome, and zealously vindicated papal privileges.

again vindicated through governmental aid. Rome, so notorious at the time of the sixth Alexander¹ and his two more reputable successors, had under the latest Popes a more respectable aspect than any of the larger cities of Europe. Sexual mishaps and delinquencies on the part of priests, where they become public, incur stringent punishment, or, with the exception of occasions when the publicity of the sentences exposes them to the world, sink into mysterious obscurity.

Where nature is taboo, there arises a danger of the unnatural and the criminal. To meet the universal frailty of human beings the young priest comes to be instructed, for the needs of the confessional, in every conceivable kind of debauchery as these are found, depicted with special relish, in largely used books of instruction, particularly of the Jesuits. They treat, it is true, in the first place of the variety of sinfulness which belongs to these memories of Sodom and Gomorrah; but the imagination is nevertheless defiled by such pictures. Then come the experiences of the confessional, which, although but seldom including criminality, yet reveal to the unmarried man all the weaknesses of the female sex, and incite him to avail himself of them. It passes for an edifying story that the archbishop of Ragusa, who was unable to retain chastity, was set free permanently from all temptation by a small cord belonging to St. Catharine², fastened round his body. Such girdles were much to be desired for the clergy collectively. We are far from asserting that a priest who is conscientious, or even who is only timid

¹ The notorious Roderic Borgia, poisoned in 1503 by drinking of a bowl which he had prepared for another. His successors were Pius III and Julius II.

² The celebrated Italian saint of Siena, d. at Rome, 1380, and was subsequently canonized.

and shy, cannot overcome these temptations, calling upon Divine aid. The only question is, Why does the Church lead her priests into such temptation, to which so many succumb, and, what is more, why does she demand from them the sacrifice of family joys, the human sacrifice offered upon the altar, not of God, but of the hierarchy? In some places it is a custom that on the evening of the day on which the young priest has said his first mass, an entertainment is given to him, in which a pretty school girl, decked out and with a wreath, sits beside him under the name of the bride. Under the figure of this innocent jest is represented to him that which he has for ever renounced. Notwithstanding, if the realization of an idea demands it, to forswear even marriage is not too much of a sacrifice. At the present time independently of this thousands forgo it from necessity, and no less a number from motives of selfishness and ease.

Perrone gives a touching portrayal of the distresses of a husband, what he has to endure from a contentious wife, and from a host of children with their sauciness and disobedience. Besides, there are the anxieties of supporting them, so that only a few are likely to be found who do not repent of having married. Celibates, on the contrary, are, he says, for the most part jovial people, so that they excite the envy of the harassed husbands. Considerations of the old bachelor sort like these may perhaps gratify the students in the Collegium Romanum, so as with stout heart to bite the sour apple of the vow of celibacy. But the sufferings or joys, which marriage may bring with it, form a very subordinate consideration. Certainly, too, it is not the high ideal love, which would be miserable if the novel did not close with a wedding. It only

craves reciprocated love. Yet a very ancient utterance of God was addressed to mankind as a whole: 'It is not good that the man should be alone';¹ and marriage is the elevation of the bare natural propensity to a moral union. It is the completion with God's blessing of the individual man, from which no man shall for ever and of purpose withdraw, unless he be condemned to do so by something abnormal in himself or by duty.

The vow of chastity is imposed on the occasion of ordination as priest. From this a law of celibacy is deduced, so far as chastity and marriage are considered as irreconcilable opposites, and marriage thus only as an institution for the legal satisfaction of evil lusts. The celibacy of priests rests simply upon an ecclesiastical law which, as it once came into being, so can again fall into disuse. It was only by sophistry that the Council of Trent succeeded in making it into a dogma, by laying a curse upon all sorts of objections to that law. The whole weight of the obligation rests upon the solemnly imposed vow, and no one, it is urged, is compelled to become a priest. But by this means the question is only shifted to the conscience of the individual, while the true substantial question is lost sight of, viz. whether the Church is justified and compelled, forbidding what Christ has left open, to demand the vow of celibacy from her priests?

In the first place the reason which carried weight in the Middle Ages, the danger of transmitting Church property, especially when it was of princely value, to legitimate children, no longer exists under the conditions of a well-ordered State. The very subject-matter with which this reason deals might well be allowed to disappear for ever from the Church. The second

¹ Gen. ii. 18.

reason, the fearlessness of the priest without wife and child, is not without significance, but on the opposite side. Surely Winkelried¹ exclaimed, as he gathered the spears into his honest heart : ' Comrades, have a care for my wife and my children, for I am going to make them orphans ! ' and the upright man will undoubtedly wish to leave to his children an unsullied name, a great, or at any rate a good example. However, while we must always assume a moderate level of morality as predominant, a bachelor priest does not so easily lie open to a humorous treatment like that which, sad to say, presents itself among the descendants of those of Lutheran reformation times. The pastor stands undecided in front of a confession of faith, which he is bidden to sign. Behind him are his wife and children with woeful gestures, saying ' Sign, father, sign, that you may remain in the parsonage ! ' Yet Catholic priests have stooped with similar reluctance, and with no less pliancy, to like regulations as to creed. The true significance of celibacy for the hierarchy is the securing of some resistance to the authority of the State. The words which Gregory VII² is said to have written, ' The Church cannot be freed from servitude to the laity, unless the priests are freed from their wives,' rings, at any rate as Gregory's thought, through the centuries, and even to-day a battle cry from the Vatican would without celibacy find a less nimble militant response. But the priests' independence of the authority of the State is merely equivalent to dependence upon a foreign authority, which, whatever else it does, some-

¹ Arnold von Winkelried, a Swiss patriot from Stanz, in Unterwalden, is said to have decided a victory over the Austrians at Sempach in 1386 by acting as above, so as to make an opening in the enemy's ranks into which the Swiss rushed over his dead body.

² See p. 169.

times seeks its own interests, or when in need must seek them. Therefore it would be a decidedly useful thing, if priests were by means of family ties domesticated in their own country. It may pass muster and appear very noble, although it nevertheless shows narrowness of view, that a man should forget the earthly in contemplation of the heavenly home ; but it is not advisable that one should forget Germany in contemplation of Rome. Where the true eternal possessions of the Church are at stake, we may venture doubtless to presume that the existence in Catholic clergy of the moral faculties would be hindered as little by wife and children as by apprehensions for their own well-being.

Married priests, said Perrone, would not go with the same readiness as missionaries among barbarous nations. Yet the Protestant Church is not lacking in missionaries. The old custom of the Moravians¹, expressly with this idea and aim to make their emissaries marry, has become fairly universal, and enthusiastic wives of missionaries have proved themselves not the worst of aids in bringing the Gospel into the heathen women's apartments ; just as, from the time of the sisters accompanying the Apostles onwards, the first great victory of Christianity over the Roman world was very much advanced by this quiet mission of women.

Further it is alleged that the married priest is held back by innumerable domestic cares for his household, for his wife and children, from the sole care of his soul. But as a true pastor must also take upon him many cares of a bodily character on behalf of the members of

¹ Members of the Christian denomination otherwise known as United Brethren, or Herrnhuter (from Herrnhut in Saxony), who trace their origin to John Hus. They are organized in three home provinces (German, British, and American) and several missionary provinces. They are specially noted for energy and success in missionary work.

his congregation, and consider with sympathy the needs of many families, why may he not do the same with his own domestic worries, which, especially in the case where his house is managed by an untrained or grasping housekeeper, are sometimes greater and more thankless than the anxieties of a Protestant pastor, which he can confidently devolve upon a circumspect housewife possessed of no interest but his own. It may happen that a life full of occupation and of troubles on behalf of many brings with it such pressure, and also such contentment, as not at all to permit that the thought of taking heed for oneself in any wise by marriage assume an active shape. Yet the saying, 'One has not had time to be married until the right time is passed,' is almost as much of a phrase as when a worldling clothed in flesh says : ' I have not time to go to Church.' A capable man has time for everything which it becomes him to do. But although things may be thus in the case of a voluntary, and in fact unpremeditated celibacy, yet such a position is not the occasion of any common injunction on the part of the Church.

This has also been set forth on higher grounds, viz. 'The true pastor is permitted no other bride than the Church, no other children than his Church children : to this family his whole heart must belong.' There generally results an awkwardness if an ingenious allegory is treated as a reality, and consequences accordingly deduced from it.

It is maintained that if it became a real and general thing that besides the One, whose bride has been called the Church in prophetic vision, she grants also to every priest a bridegroom's rights, she would rather resemble the woman of Babylon than the maiden of the Song of

Solomon. But never have we known a parson's wife become jealous of that allegorical bride, and, jesting apart, love, even in a poor human heart, is not so poor as to run the risk of becoming bankrupt; and he who is a true father to his children possesses therein the model and the ethical keynote for the instruction of his congregation also in the same direction, as they need it, so that they may be good fathers. On the other hand, it happens not unfrequently that the man who is growing old without a family becomes stiffened in comfortable selfish habits. We may safely say that a people has never yet hit upon the idea that its prince, because he is about to become the happy head of a family, would for that reason be a less gentle ruler.

Thus there remains for the edifying argument on behalf of the law of celibacy only this one plea: viz. that the dignity of the priestly order demands this renunciation. 'Make a priest a husband; give him the name of spouse and father: you have as it were cast him down from heaven, and will find in his life and morals nothing at all which differentiates him from other men.' Doubtless then he has this differentiating dignity in common with every old bachelor. The witty countess Hahn-Hahn¹, who believes at last that she has found peace for her much afflicted heart in the Catholic Church, objects to the Protestant pastor, when he visits the sick and poor, 'How do I know where he comes from?' while the Catholic priest comes from the altar of sacrifice. Let us speak out the horror which the coy pen of the drawing-room lady, now veiled in the guise of a nun, drew back from writing in full. The Protestant

¹ Born 1805, d. 1880, a German authoress, became a Roman Catholic in 1850, entered a convent as a novice at Angers, 1852, and later founded a convent. She published several volumes of poems, and romances.

pastor has previously perhaps kissed his wife! Will the Gospel message and the kindly gift, which he is bringing to the sick and poor, be for that reason less comforting to them? Moreover, one must have a sufficiently ill-regulated fancy if at the sight of the minister engaged in the honourable duties of his profession, one only thinks of what he may have been doing some hours before. At the bottom of all that kind of imaginativeness is the notion which regards the relation of the sexes and the primal creation blessing as something impure. This notion certainly existed at an early date in the Church, but it is not peculiar to Christianity. It is found among almost all peoples and religions which are still hesitating between a sensuous nature life and the supremacy of the spiritual side of the being, and which therefore lay stress from a religious standpoint upon bodily functions or their abnegation. The Council of Trent, from the superior favour accorded to virginity as compared with the wedded state, effected the laying down of a dogma, on the faithful acceptance of which eternal salvation was to depend, while it is nevertheless merely an aesthetic judgement which is formed upon slender grounds and about which a warm dispute can be carried on, and each side withdraw as victorious. For instance, in a charming maiden virginity is recognized as a high and indispensable advantage. But think of the same person, apart from other special advantages, grown into an old maid, and, as contrasted with her, of a mother surrounded by blooming children. The aesthetic judgement will at once be reversed. In the motive itself, which mainly is responsible for the Catholic notion of assigning superior favour to the virgin state, viz. the worship of the Holy Virgin, lies, at least when closely examined, the justifi-

cation of both situations alike. If she had not become the Mother of the Son of God, little importance would have been attached to her relationship to St. Joseph. Only this fact is to be reckoned with, that, especially for a young priest, precisely because a wife is denied him, there readily arises a certain sentimental interest in maidens and young women. But the confidence which a worthy pastor and father of a family acquires, will easily have special weight in turning the scales in the direction of moral probity. Also the lower strata of a Catholic population, in consonance with their sensual way of regarding things, are wont to see in the celibacy of the priest a part of his holiness, and are therefore always inclined to give credence to a suspicion pointing in this direction. Where, we may add, is to be found the guarantee that the Catholic priest is always straight from the altar or the confessional? And, granted that the direct way thence is securely fenced, who then knows what thoughts and inclinations are stirring within him? It appertains to the elevated character peculiar to Christianity that it assigns the chief value to something inward, to the disposition, as Christ first expressed it in opposition to the Jewish ordinances of purifying and fasting¹: 'Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man; but that which proceedeth out of the mouth, this defileth the man,' which thus exists within him as thought or passion, and issuing forth whenever opportunity arises becomes an act.

Here in direct opposition to the high standpoint of the Gospel is exhibited the most dubious side of all vows against nature. The man always remains, at least till he is utterly crushed, a complete man, who seeks satisfaction for every essential constituent of his

¹ Matt. xv. 1 ff.

humanity. If satisfaction be absolutely refused to one of these, the one which has met with refusal is by that very means given an importance that seeks on every opportunity to obtain preponderance, and can only be appeased by very powerful souls. One who desires to free himself wholly from natural wants, easily falls into servitude to them by means of his thoughts. He who imposes on himself severe and extraordinary fasts, will have food and drink hovering before him as enticing pictures of the fancy. On the contrary, he who regularly finds placed before him moderate meals according to the position and customs of his household, thinks very little beforehand about eating and drinking. A still harsher revenge is generally exacted from him who attempts—a hopeless effort—to subdue the craving of nature, which in many men is very strong, instead of allowing it, under the control of morality and law, to become at the right time, with God's blessing, a power for the founding of families, and linking one age of mankind to another. Beginning with the temptations of St. Anthony¹, to whom there appeared among the beasts of the desert demons and alluring female forms, we read in so many lives of the saints of these internal conflicts. In the biography of Michael Wittmann, one of our most honoured bishops, based upon his diary, how much is to be found about wine and beer, how much his thoughts turn upon this, even though he knows it to be dangerous to his soul. Sometimes he comforts himself in this way: 'In this loneliness I have drunk much wine and it has not injured me, since I went to bed after bruising myself with a cord over my whole body.' Then, however, Satan comes again and

¹ An Egyptian abbot, who in 285 retired altogether from the society of men.

torments him. He says sadly: 'I am feeding the flames of hell within me day and night.' The equally pious and Catholic biographer adds: 'His private memoranda establish only too clearly that in this respect he continued in lifelong flames, and that his unscathed condition was to be held a real miracle.' No doubt the conscientiousness and mental power which withstand even these temptations and come forth unscathed from these flames, force our admiration. Nevertheless, it is the Church's prejudice which has led simple upright men into these temptations, and in comparison with the man who in the state of faithful marriage still has occasion for loving renunciations and sacrifices, but, generally speaking, knows nothing whatever of such conflicts, I must consider the inner life of those saints in sexual respects as very impure, and that what they call Satan who tempts them is their own mis-used nature. How pure and how high above it, from the Protestant point of view, stands a young man's imagination, as Schleiermacher¹ expressed it in his Monologues: 'For the future the most sacred union must raise me to a new step in my life. I must blend myself into one being with a beloved soul, that my human nature may also in the most beauteous way work upon human nature. I must consecrate myself to the claims and duties of a father, that the very highest skill, which employs freedom in influencing free existences, may not slumber within me, that I may show how one who believes in freedom guards and protects youthful freedom, and how in this great problem the serene mind knows the way to solve the

¹ Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher, b. 1768, d. at Berlin, as professor of theology and pastor of Trinity Church in 1834, the celebrated German philosopher and theologian.

fairest complication of the personal and the external.' And when facing the approaching fulfilment he wrote to his lady friend:—'I have learnt so much of the beauty and sanctity of family life. Now, however, I must further have opportunity to show that it is for me more than fair words. In particular, I must be able to show that the right sort of marriage mars nothing, not friendship, nor learning, nor the life of unselfishness and self-sacrifice for one's country.'

Not that I would wish to deny that there have existed many truly Catholic priests, who have lived only for their sacred office and their congregations, vanquishing the weaknesses of the flesh, and relinquishing that higher something offered by God. The very thought that as standing in the midst between God and mankind they were by the special favour of God raised above the common lot of men, may easily unite with the sentiment of spiritual insufficiency in themselves to induce pious fervour. There exists an ideal of the Catholic priesthood as of the Protestant pastor with his parsonage, and there are to be found in real life numerous approximations to both. The Catholic ladder, from the highest dignitaries of the Church, here and there still possessed of princely rank and riches, down to the poor chaplain and mendicant friar, has at any rate something impressive, and harmonizes with the essential nature of a Church, which with its brilliant externals yet desires to embrace all the relationships of life. God Himself in the present course of the world understands how to create mighty things, by spinning the fabric of universal history out of the material of human errors as mixed with His truth. This priesthood, which once held sway over the educated world while it marched in advance,

bearing in itself all their knowledge and vouching for the truth of their belief, after the recognition of the illegitimacy alike of what it claimed and what it disclaimed, will only stand and fall with the Church out of which it has grown.

A presentiment of gradual decay, although under the cloak of a very recent development of exalted aspirations, is noticeable since the days of Trent in their dread of the universities of their country, which once were the joy and pride of the hierarchy, and in their care to bring up the junior clergy from the first in seminaries for lads, cut off from the general mass of higher education. When we learn the nature and manner of their pursuits in the seminaries, we shall not be surprised that Rosmini¹, that enthusiastic Catholic, who once exercised great influence over the Pope's disposition in his prosperous days, named the inadequate training of the clergy as one of the five wounds of the Church. Such an artificial atmosphere, filled with the incense fumes of the Middle Ages, may perhaps last as a youthful memory and determining factor in many persons of contracted soul, but the keen air of actual life does not suffer itself to be excluded in the long run. The peoples of the south of Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century were trained in the schools of the Jesuits; yet how completely they have broken with them! So swift and terrible was this breach, that it was only the intensity of it which caused it for a time to be a matter of question. As the people were then, so the future priests are now, educated under the same influence.

Least of all, however, would it be desirable that this breach should begin with the law of celibacy, as was attempted during the Thirty Years' War² in Silesia and

¹ Carlo de Rosmini, d. 1827, an Italian historian and biographer.

² A religious and political war, caused by the friction between Pro-

in Baden. Such a course is too open to suspicion, and may moreover easily arise out of self-seeking desires, which serve neither to construct nor to destroy a Church. Erasmus had jestingly said of the Reformation: 'This whole tragedy will end like a comedy, with marriage all round.' And yet the dissolution of the vow of celibacy was only a necessary consequence, not a commencement. Luther in his book addressed to the Christian nobility in which all the wretchedness brought upon Germany by the papal religion is pitilessly exposed, has expressed himself only thus far: 'I desire not to advise nor to dissuade that those who have not yet taken wives either marry or remain unmarried. This conclusion I base upon common Christian rules, and upon each man acting in accordance with his best judgement; but I desire not to conceal my honest advice to the hapless multitude, and not to withhold comfort from those who have come to possess wife and children and sit in disgrace and with a troubled conscience. Many a pious pastor may be found, against whom no one can bring reproach under any other head except that he is frail and has been brought to disgrace as having a wife. Yet he and she are so minded in the bottom of their hearts that they would gladly remain together always in true wedded fealty, if they could only do so with a good conscience, although they would be obliged to endure the disgrace publicly. The two are certainly wedded in the sight of God. And here I say that, where they are thus minded, and so come into one life, all they have to do is cheerfully to set their conscience at ease. Let him take her as his wedded wife, keep her, and live honestly

testants and Roman Catholics in the German Empire. It was terminated by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.

in other respects with her as a husband, without regarding whether the Pope wishes it or not, whether it be against spiritual or carnal law. Thy soul's salvation is of more importance than the tyrannical, arbitrary, outrageous laws which are not necessary for salvation nor appointed by God; and, to do just the same thing as the children of Israel did, who stole from the Egyptians the wages that they had earned, so steal from the Pope thy lawful wife and child.' Luther had long uttered his Christian and heroic words in face of the emperor and the realm, had proved himself to possess the vital force, and had won the external power, to establish a new basis of rights. He had already admitted hundreds of priests into a right pertaining to humanity, regarding which a gloomy delusion had deceived them, when he himself at length, in the face of the grave doubts of many of his friends and merely acting in accordance with the universal German disposition towards family life, entered (1525) upon marriage with the conviction that he was perfectly justified. Even in England the Reformation was accomplished by means of a deep religious impetus on the part of the people. By their means it overcame all hindrances, victoriously withstood the martyrdom prepared for them by bloody Mary, who was called the Catholic woman, and, while doing this, established a free popular state as well. The adulterous lusts of the king, who had received from the Pope for his abusive treatise against Luther the title *Defensor Fidei*¹, had by his breaking loose from the Papacy only given opportunity for the Reformation. Those same lusts had also, however, thrown a dark shadow over her pure cause.

¹ Leo X conferred this title on Henry VIII in consideration of his championship of the doctrine of the seven Sacraments in opposition to Luther's book on the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church*.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAPACY

A. The Universal Bishop

ALL the power of the Western priesthood is summed up in the Pope, who, according to the Roman dogma, by virtue of Divine appointment is the head of the collective Church, the Viceroy of Christ upon earth; or, according to the view of the modern believer, the embodied conception of an immutable authority as the sole point of stability in the life of the nations. This title, high above the lot of man, is based upon the claim that the bishop of Rome is the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.

The Council at Florence in 1439 in the intended union with the Greek Church for the first time gave this legal expression to the developed representation of the Papacy: 'We determine that the holy apostolic chair and the Roman pontiff possesses the primacy over the whole world, and that he is the follower of St. Peter the first of the Apostles, and the true representative of Christ and the head of the whole Church, and the Father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him in virtue of St. Peter full authority has been given by our Lord Jesus Christ to tend, to lead, and to govern the collective Church, as this also is contained in the Acts of the ecumenical Councils and in the holy Canons.' While several attested copies of the Florentine document of union in the Latin and Greek languages have been put in evidence, yet

those which are in our hands are not all alike completely signed by the members of the Council. There is to be found among them this difference, that the primacy over the whole world, and thus a kind of supremacy, whether over the world or only over the Church, is found in the Latin copies, and also in one Greek copy, but the closing sentence as given above comes only in the Latin text as an incidental sanction of the papal power. On the other hand, the Greek text contains something of a limitation in these words: 'in the way which is defined as well in the Acts of the ecumenical Councils as in the holy Canons.'

Inasmuch, however, as the recognition of a Roman supremacy was only wrung from the Greeks owing to the difficulties in which at that time they were placed, it appears after inspection of the attested copies that we are not to think so much of a falsification on the part of the Latins, as that those sentences, which remained unverified in the excitement of the session's close, were forthwith put together in the first notes taken, with variations corresponding to the preconceived sense. It is shown from the proceedings that the Greeks were willing to recognize a supremacy of the Pope only so far as the ecumenical Councils and collections of Canons acknowledged by them permitted, and in this way the conspicuous yet still undefined indications of his primacy were reduced to a very moderate amount.

Owing to the validity of the Council of Florence being challenged as though a papal opposition Council to that of Basel, as well as through the need of meeting the disclaimer of Protestants, the Council of Trent was strongly induced to make definite pronouncement with regard to the rights of the Viceroy of Christ. Yet it

did not venture to formulate a dogma with regard to the status of the Pope; but, seeing that as a matter of fact it was subject to him, its minority submitted, only with internal grumbling, to that saying of Lainez¹, according to which the Church under the papal monarchy instituted by Christ was born to be a maid-servant, without any sort of freedom, power, or jurisdiction. When on one occasion, however, it was suggested to limit the Pope's authority, Julius III² wrote to his legates: 'We should never submit to this. Rather let the world go to wrack and ruin.' And that has always continued to be the Romish policy. The Roman Catechism testifies with sentences from Scripture and the Fathers to the Pope as necessary for the unity of the Church, sitting on St. Peter's chair as teacher, the Viceroy of Christ by Divine appointment with supreme dignity and jurisdiction, the Father and ruler of the whole Church. Lastly, the Vatican Council, repeating the resolution of Florence according to the reading of the Latin text, has adjudged the Pope the full, supreme, regular, and direct power and jurisdiction over the Church collectively and over each individual Church.

A precedence of St. Peter is involved in the words of the Lord concerning the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the rock, and the shepherd's staff³. The keys, as a symbol of authority for the government of the kingdom of God, were bestowed by Him afterwards, only without the symbolic phraseology, upon the Apostles collectively as well⁴. Nevertheless, the individual investiture of St. Peter points to a preference, by virtue of which also he is always named first in the

¹ See p. 154.

² Matt. xvi. 18 f.; John xxi. 15 ff.

³ Pope 1550-5.

⁴ Matt. xviii. 18; cp. John xx. 23.

lists of the Apostles in the Gospels¹. Around the cupola of St. Peter's extend in golden letters of gigantic size, so as to be easily read from below, the words: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' As to the reference of the expression 'rock' ecclesiastical tradition is not uniform. Since elsewhere in the view of the Apostles Christ is regarded as the head and corner stone, beside which none other can be laid², some Fathers have desired to regard our Lord Himself as this rock, on which the Church is built, or again, St. Peter's faith in Christ as Son of the living God³. But the claims of the Roman interpretation arise immediately out of the play on the name Peter, as meaning the rock-man: therefore he only can be signified as the rock on which Christ desires to build His Church. On this disciple, who was by nature a mixture of strength and weakness, of faithful courage and faintness of heart, impetuous in word as in deed, He bestowed with prompt insight the name Peter as a monition and in the confidence that through it he would become a rock on which a Church might well be built. This confidence therefore is altogether based on the individual character of Peter, inasmuch as it was uttered on the occasion of a trustful expression of his in the joyful excitement, of which St. John has probably preserved for us the deeper basis⁴: it follows that his true successors are the faithful. St. Peter was not the rock when, after (observe) the furnishing of that sole piece of evidence in the Gospels and immediately following upon the expression 'rock,' there were addressed to him the

¹ Matt. x. 2 ff.; Mark iii. 16 ff.; Luke vi. 14 ff.

² 1 Cor. iii. 11; cp. ii. 4 f.

³ Matt. xvi. 16.

⁴ John vi. 67 ff.

words : 'Get thee behind Me, Satan : thou art a stumbling block unto Me.'¹ He was not the rock, when he denied the Lord ; neither was he this, after he had already received and imparted the Holy Spirit, when in the presence of Jewish zealots he from fear of men disowned the development of Christianity as a universal religion, and so was sharply rebuked by the Apostle charged with that development². But, as Christ expected of him, he founded the mother Church in Jerusalem. According to the Acts of the Apostles he also brought about its extension to the Gentiles³, and in its first years he stands in the forefront everywhere, especially in the presence of danger⁴. But then, in Jerusalem and for Jewish Christians St. James took his place ; for Gentile Christians, and with greater efficiency, St. Paul : both of them men who had received no promise, one of them a man who had not believed on the Lord in His lifetime⁵, while the other had persecuted Him in the persons of His disciples.

St. John in the presence of the founder of the Church asserts the claim of the beloved disciple. Yet the appendix to his Gospel contains the entrusting of St. Peter with the pastoral office⁶. It is merely a Romish interpretation of a rabbinical character that in the three-fold repetition, 'Feed My lambs,' with the variation, 'Feed My sheep,' the two constituent elements of the Church are meant, the laity and the clergy, and so first of all the Apostles themselves as the sheep, and that accordingly the pastoral office, i.e. the government of the whole Church, is hereby committed to St. Peter. Rather, this presumed committal is only his full reappointment to the apostolic office following upon the

¹ Matt. xvi. 23.² Gal. ii. 11.³ Acts x.⁴ e.g. Acts xii.⁵ John vii. 5.⁶ John xxi. 15 ff. ; cp. Acts xx. 28.

tears of repentance. The threefold question, 'Lovest thou Me?' points to the threefold denial of this love. The change of designation, lambs and sheep, corresponds only to the customary Hebrew style in poetic or solemn diction.

But if here we are not to overlook an exaltation of St. Peter, although qualified by a preceding fall, so that we may hold that there was an intention on the part of our Lord to place him foremost in the circle of the Apostles, that he might strengthen his brethren¹, yet this supremacy excludes every kind of dominion. When the Apostles strove among themselves for pre-eminence, whether in love, or in the kingdom of which at that time they dreamed, He did not then solemnly confer this primacy upon one, and so compose the strife; but He placed a child in the midst of them², who knew nothing yet of pre-eminence, and Himself performed for them servile duties³. None among them are to rule as lords of this world rule⁴. No one is to call himself master⁵. Christ alone is to be their Head, His Spirit alone to teach them. The greatest among them will be he who renders to the others the greatest services⁶.

The history of the apostolic Church then shows not even a trace of the spiritual dominion of St. Peter. The deacons, representing the oldest Church office, are appointed by the Apostles in common⁷. When there was need of a strong hand in Samaria, they sent thither Peter and John in common⁸. At the apostolic Council St. Peter defends his proceedings like one of

¹ Luke xxii. 32.

² Mark ix. 36; cp. Luke ix. 47.

⁴ Mark x. 42; cp. Luke xxii. 25.

⁶ Matt. xx. 27; cp. xxiii. 11; Mark x. 44.

⁷ Rather, by the whole body. See Acts vi. 2 ff.

³ John xiii. 1 ff.

⁵ Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.

⁶ Acts viii. 14.

the community¹. After the intervention of St. James's proposal, the resolution is drawn up in the name of the Apostles, elders, and the whole Christian body². St. Peter held no presidency, and issued no bull of authorization. If we find in the second Epistle named after St. Peter a notice recommendatory of the Epistles of St. Paul³, it needs Roman artlessness to perceive therein an exercise of the papal primacy, and that St. Peter approves the writings of St. Paul, just as nowadays the Roman congregation of the Index might at any rate prohibit writings. Through these means it is established that St. Peter, by virtue of his primacy, was authorized to direct forcible measures even against the Apostles, only that there was no necessity for them!

History, therefore, knows nothing of one holding the position of Prince among the Apostles. The 'rock', the rocky foundation is not the head, not the summit, but the basis, which is sunk in the depth, or built upon. In this sense our Lord's promise has been fulfilled. The Church, which is founded upon St. Peter and appeals to his name, has been the dominant one for over a thousand years. The powers of Hades have not prevailed against her, and if the spirit of St. Peter has often only hovered over her like a shadowy phantom, yet men have been ready to perceive in her his own essential characteristics and demeanour, as she, too, has laid about her with the sword⁴, and more than once proved false to her Lord⁵ and to Christian freedom, only without St. Peter's tears. The rightful successor of St. Peter in external matters of this sort would be bound also to accomplish miraculous cures, which Pío Nono at times attempted without special

¹ Acts xv. 7 ff.

² Ibid. v. 25.

³ 2 Pet. iii. 15.

⁴ See John xviii. 10.

⁵ See Matt. xxvi. 69 ff.

success, although, reminding us of the well-known beggar, he could apparently say of himself: 'Silver and gold have I none.'¹ Yet Döllinger² made a just remark, although in a different sense: 'The seat of Moses became the seat of Peter and was carried to Rome³,' namely, Jewish legality; and what our Lord addressed to those who in His time sat on Moses' seat⁴ has held good for many later occupants of this See.

The claims of the Pope are based upon the residence of St. Peter in Rome, his bishopric and martyrdom there. Roman theology assures us that the facts are so clearly attested by writings and memorials that, if anything at all in history is established, they cannot be called in question. Doubt on the subject has existed from the time of the Waldenses till now, and it has been accentuated by the learned of older Protestant days through the desire to undermine the historical foundation of the Papacy. But the modern Protestant school of historians, in their eagerness to be fair and unbiased, were much inclined to recognize not indeed a Roman bishopric on the part of St. Peter, but his apostolic rule and death at Rome. Not before the end of the fourth century did the Roman tradition appear in a matured form to the effect that St. Peter, after he had for some years ruled as bishop at Antioch, was for twenty-five years bishop of Rome. Learned Catholic theologians in Germany now reduced this to the statement, that the great Apostle taught for less than a year in Rome, and died there. Agreement appeared to have been reached upon this historical question, until in consonance with the universal tendency of mind on the one side, the Roman assertion, never surrendered, was

¹ Acts iii. 6.

² See p. 25.

³ *Christenth. u. Kirche*, p. 30. [H.]

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 2.

renewed in its full strictness, only with a certain amount of reticence as to the silver wedding attained in St. Peter's Episcopate. This last nevertheless has become veryfamiliar in the saying, whose actual disproof we have lived to see, that a Pope never reaches the years of St. Peter¹. On the other hand, the latest Protestant criticism, in particular what is called the Tübingen school, not primarily in polemical interests, but in connexion with its view of Christian antiquity as a whole, spoke only of a Peter-tradition, growing out of the circumstance that the two *party* Churches, as they stood face to face especially in Rome, the Gentile Christian which appealed to St. Paul, the Jewish Christian to St. Peter, about the middle of the second century combined to form one Catholic Church, and that under the watchword *Peter and Paul*. This henceforth represented the development of spiritual Rome, as in like mythical manner the ancient capital of the world revered two sons of gods as heroes who founded it².

Apart from the fact that a succession to the peculiar prerogatives of an Apostle is altogether unthinkable, the investigation into an historical fact, however great its practical consequences may be, can only be decided in accordance with historical testimony, in estimating which there should be no question whatever of religious belief or unbelief, or even of Catholic or Protestant opinion, although a Pope has declared it to be heresy to assert that St. Peter was not in Rome contemporaneously with St. Paul. Even the Papacy must, when required, place itself before the bar of history. The Romish demonstration has made the matter easy for itself, and has settled it lightly, inasmuch as it only

¹ Pius IX was Pope 1846-78.

² Romulus and Remus.

cites without discrimination several testimonies to all the three alleged facts at the same time : the residence, the bishopric, the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome—things which one, whose only concern is with truth, has accurately to distinguish ; for certainly St. Peter, in whatever community he may have been, must always have been the most conspicuous person in it, and the same is the case for St. Paul : but that is something different from the definite supreme ecclesiastical office belonging to a definite community.

The Roman contention has detected the sole support in Holy Scripture for a residence of St. Peter in Rome in the first Epistle of St. Peter, where he offers a salutation from the Church at Babylon¹, since they are so modest as under this town of heathen abominations to consider without more ado that Rome is signified. But intelligible as this is in the lofty poetic vaticinations of the Apocalypse of St. John, however usual also it has become as a term for papal Rome in hostile utterances ; in a straightforward letter, in which there is otherwise not to be found the most remote allusion to Rome, such a figure on the occasion of the local indication of the source of the greeting would be almost as unheard of as if any one at the present time in writing to me took it into his head to address the letter to Babylon. On the other hand, in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, where it brings St. Paul to Rome, in the letters of St. Paul from his Roman prison, above all, in his Epistle to the Romans, in all the individual salutations in the last chapter to members of the Roman Church, we seek in vain for a hint of the presence of St. Peter there, or even for any reference to him whatever. Support is sought for the view by

¹ 1 Pet. v. 13.

assuming various journeys and long absences of St. Peter from his bishopric. They must indeed have been long continued. According to the tradition, and if a twenty-five years' bishopric is to be our conclusion, it commences in the year 43. Now we find St. Peter in the year 44 at Jerusalem in prison. In the year 50 St. Paul meets him again in Jerusalem. The Epistle to the Romans belongs to the year 58. When St. Paul two years later comes as a prisoner to Rome, and during his long confinement there, no trace of St. Peter is to be seen ; that is to say, all the time that we happen to have a more precise knowledge as to a place of sojourn of St. Peter or the circumstances of the Church in Rome, St. Peter is not to be found there, and there is nothing which hints at his bearing rule there. Perrone seeks support against the force of this consideration by means of a jest. It would be, he says, ridiculous to throw doubts upon the existence and the acts of Nero or Domitian or Nerva, because nothing about them is found in the Bible : equally ridiculous accordingly is the procedure of those who, owing to the silence of those Books of the Bible as to St. Peter's existence at Rome, deny that existence. With regard, however, to Nero as Antichrist the hint is not wanting, while few persons acquainted with chronology would look for such, at any rate in the Epistles of St. Paul and in the Acts of the Apostles, with regard to Domitian and Nerva. But what are we to say of this whole illustration : the fact that no reference is made, not, observe, in a history of the Roman Empire but in the Books on which the Christian religion is based, to those Roman emperors is compared to the fact that in a detailed communication to the saints at Rome, which enters deeply into the mysteries of religion, and desires

to impart to the Church of that place some spiritual gift to strengthen them¹, where St. Paul, full of longing to see them face to face and to preach the Gospel at Rome, makes the incidental remark that he wishes not to build upon another man's foundation—that in such a letter, I say, not even the slightest mention is to be found of the right trusty Apostle who is asserted to have founded the Church or to have long presided as bishop over them, and from them as centre over the whole Church! The very silence of the Epistle to the Romans is an indication that that Church was not established by some historical personage, but was of prehistoric spontaneous growth. In the huge capital of the world, into which men from all provinces of the Empire continuously gathered, bringing their native forms of worship with them, it might easily happen that some believers in Christ meeting there from other countries formed a centre. Such a rallying point existed at the time of the Epistle to the Romans in the house of Aquila², who shortly before this was St. Paul's associate in handicraft at Corinth and Ephesus³. This agrees with the many salutations which the Apostle sends to personal acquaintances at Rome. If Christ actually appointed, as ruler of the collective Church in the capacity of bishop of Rome, St. Peter and through him his lawful successors in that See, the Roman Church has reason to lament that absolutely nothing as to this great occurrence is to be found in the Bible, but rather so much against it that thereby so many millions who nevertheless believe on Christ are impelled to discredit it, and that owing to this unbelief the Papacy will at length come to the ground. Perrone

¹ Rom. i. 11.² Ibid. xvi. 4 f.³ Acts xviii. 2 f., 26.

comforts himself with the reflection that even if it were more plainly set forth in Holy Scripture, the opponents of the Papacy would nevertheless refuse to believe it, but by some capricious interpretation or other would explain away the passage.

Outside our Scriptures the earliest information attested by a trustworthy person as to St. Peter is in the letter of Clement of Rome¹, himself named among the first bishops of Rome, to the Church at Corinth. He enumerates among those who as noble examples, persecuted by fanaticism, had fought even to the death, this good Apostle, Peter, who 'endured many hardships, and so passed as a martyr to the fitting abode of glory'. Of the place of his life and death nothing is said. With like, or even with higher praise St. Paul is mentioned, and at any rate with this local intimation that after being a herald in the East and in the West, and when he had taught the whole world righteousness, he became a martyr under the Roman rulers at 'the limit of the West'².

St. Ignatius³ in the letter to the Romans, which may have been written in 115, longing for a martyr's death, exhorts them to do nothing to obtain his deliverance, adding, 'I enjoin you not, as Peter and Paul'⁴. This at first sight looks like an allusion to a special position of authority in which both Apostles actually stood to the Romans. But the way in which both are made prominent as early as in the Acts of the Apostles, without their being combined in any kind of relationship to Rome, was enough to permit of their being named to

¹ See p. 112.

² Clem. Rom. *1st Ep.* 5. It may be noted that this somewhat obscure expression can hardly, in the mouth of one writing from Rome, mean Rome itself.

³ See p. 154.

⁴ *ad Rom.* ch. 4. [H.]

each Christian community as the two most conspicuous Church founders. Moreover, if St. Ignatius had been thinking of their special relationship to Rome, and in any case of their martyrdom in this connexion, a thing which he was himself about to encounter, he would not have altogether passed this thought by, and placed himself in cold contrast with them, while he continues : ' They were Apostles, I am a condemned man. They were free, I am a prisoner. But if I die, I am a freed-man of Jesus, and will rise again with Him as a free man.' Papias¹ relates that St. Mark, as the interpreter of St. Peter, collected into the Gospel his sayings as to what Christ said or did. That this was done in Rome is nothing more than a later inference drawn from the presumption that St. Peter preached the Gospel in Rome. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth², remarks in a letter to the Church in Rome soon after the middle of the second century that Peter and Paul had planted the Church at Corinth and had taught there in like manner, but that they had also in like manner gone to Italy and taught there, and had died as martyrs at the same time. He wrote this to emphasize the close connexion of the Churches at Rome and Corinth. But we know by documentary evidence from our two Epistles to the Corinthians, that St. Peter had no share in founding their Church, although a Judaizing party was formed there early, which called itself after St. Peter; and we know from the Acts of the Apostles that St. Paul did not go with him to Italy, but alone and a prisoner. Irenaeus³ mentions incidentally that Peter and Paul proclaimed

¹ See p. 108. The remark is preserved by Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, iii. 39.

² In the latter part of the second century.

³ See p. 108.

the Gospel in Rome and founded the Church. Being in Rome in 176 and afterwards connected with the Church there, he gives expression at any rate to testimony derived from Rome. The authority of St. Paul in the Church already founded could easily after a century be regarded as a founding, and by means of this inadvertence doubt is also cast upon what is said of St. Peter, of whom the Epistle to the Romans certainly forbids us to think as the founder of this Church. Tertullian¹ calls the Church of Rome happy, to which Peter and Paul bequeathed the Gospel sealed with their blood. He also towards the end of the second century was domesticated in Rome; yet he immediately adds, what is not historical, that St. John was there dipped in boiling oil without being injured.

Lastly, the presbyter Caius² (about 210), in a controversial treatise on Church matters written from Rome itself, affirms: 'I can point to the tokens of the Apostles' triumph, for if thou goest to the Vatican or on the road to Ostia, thou wilt find the trophies of those who have founded these Churches.' The people of Asia Minor had appealed to the martyrs of their Church; the Roman presbyter sets off against them the Apostle-martyrs of his Church. If the trophies according to the later conception were graves and sepulchral memorials, it is surely impossible to suppose that in the Vatican, i.e. in the emperor's gardens, the scene of Nero's persecution of the Christians, there of all places in the imperial city the monument of an executed person would have been permitted. However, it was perhaps only a modest memorial stone,

¹ *De praescript. haeret.* ch. 36, and *Contra Marc.* iv. 5. [H.]

² An ecclesiastical writer, whose claim to the title 'presbyter' is however somewhat dubious. See Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 218.

scarcely noticeable by strangers, at the spot where now the cupola of St. Peter's spreads its arches over the eighty-nine perpetual lamps at the grave of the Prince of the Apostles. In any case, Caius expressed the belief of the Roman Church at that time that St. Peter died here, as St. Paul before the *Porta Ostiensis* in the place where the Church of St. Paul stands. This martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome is thenceforward the universal belief, which Eusebius notifies, with the addition that the Apostle at his own request was crucified with his head downwards. This, although not opposed to the impetuous character of St. Peter, nor to the humility of an Apostle, that he might surpass his Lord in suffering, yet does not agree with the ancient view of Tertullian, nor with the unalterable character of a Roman sentence of execution.

But that St. Peter was bishop of Rome is absolutely opposed to the older tradition, although Perrone with rare lightness of heart summons respectable witnesses on its behalf, whom, however, he does not proceed to examine. Irenaeus¹ writes on the contrary: 'The holy Apostles (Peter and Paul) founded the Church at Rome, and conferred the office of bishop upon Linus. He was followed by Anacletus, after whom, as third in descent from the Apostles, Clement received the see.' Eusebius² says: 'In the Church at Rome after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first to receive the office of bishop.' In the same way the *Apostolic Constitutions*³ name as the

¹ iii. 3. 3. [H.]

² *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 2. [H.]

³ Eight books of diffuse instructions as to the duties of clergy and laity. They profess to be the words of Apostles, as committed to writing by St. Clement of Rome, but really, with the exception of later interpolations, date from the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. The reference is vii. 47.

first bishop of Rome, Linus the son of Claudia¹, and in fact as appointed by St. Paul, after whose death St. Peter appointed Clement as the second. Again, at the beginning of the fifth century, Rufinus, the learned bishop of Aquileia, writes²: 'Linus and Anacletus were bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, but in the lifetime of Peter, in such a way that they discharged the episcopal office, while he carried out the duties of the Apostolate.' This answers to what we have gathered otherwise, viz. that in the first place the Apostles, busied with the preaching of the Word and in missionary journeys, did not tie themselves down to one locality by a fixed office in the Church; and that in the second place, at that time the monarchical episcopate had certainly not grown up out of the circle of the presbyters. Therefore St. Peter too, in his Epistle written to a large circle of Christians, when addressing only the presbyter, calls himself their fellow presbyter³. Perrone himself, troubled by the testimony of antiquity, notwithstanding all his show of external confidence, adopts the fancy that St. Peter consecrated Linus and Anacletus bishops as his vicars. But this is an unheard-of thing, and only happened as a painfully lamentable occurrence in the eleventh and in the fifteenth centuries, that there should be more than one bishop of Rome at a time!⁴ So, too, he appeals in vain to the bishopric of St. James at Jeru-

¹ The Claudia of 2 Tim. iv. 21 is said (*Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 46) to have been the mother (or, for the expression in the Greek is ambiguous, sister) of Linus, who is identified by tradition with the Christian greeted by St. Paul in the same verse.

² *Praef. in Clement. Recognitiones*. [H.]

³ 1 Pet. v. 1.

⁴ In 1058 Benedict X was elected as antipope, and reigned nine months, when he had to give way to Nicholas II. For the allusion to the fifteenth century, see p. 36.

salem. The brother of the Lord was as an Apostle, his dignity not official but personal, and therefore for a long time shared with Peter and John, as the three pillars¹ of the apostolic Jewish Church. But it resulted naturally by reason of the same illusion of historical perspective, in accordance with which at a later time St. James appeared as the first bishop of Jerusalem, that St. Peter also, as he was known to have been active in Antioch, and was thought of as the founder of the Church at Rome and a martyr there, was represented as bishop, first of Antioch and then of Rome. Accordingly St. Paul also is sometimes called by the Fathers bishop of Rome; nay, even Gregory the Great² bases the primacy upon the succession to St. Paul, who when converted to Christ became the head of the nations, while he acquired the primacy over the whole Church. Yet it was too obvious that this title would have to be shared with several Greek sees, such as Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, possessed of still more definite historical authority. Thus the claim of Rome, as soon as it became a serious one, had to confine itself to St. Peter. For the higher dignity of St. Peter Perrone's main proof is an old brass lamp, which Maffei³ saw in the gallery of the Grand Duke of Florence, in the shape of a barque. At the stern St. Peter is sitting at the rudder; St. Paul stands at the bow as though preaching. Of the age of this representation Maffei only remarks that it is the work of a good period of art. This period for such a piece of moulding commenced at Florence certainly not earlier than in the Middle Ages. But if the little boat

¹ Gal. ii. 9.

² See p. 30.

³ Francesco Scipione, Marchése di, d. 1755; an Italian poet, archaeologist, and *littérateur*.

is antique, it only answers to the familiar representation: St. Peter as a sailor, St. Paul as a speaker.

The result of our examination of witnesses runs thus: St. Peter was not bishop of Rome, and in the early centuries was not reckoned as such, but the Church at Rome towards the end of the second century believed in a Roman martyrdom of St. Peter, and soon afterwards there is also found a monument of this. The fact is not thereby established above all doubt. Accordingly when in Rome (which had now become Italian) Catholic men of learning with the approval of the Pope, who held the matter to be beyond all question, set themselves, in response to a Protestant challenge, to adduce proof of the cautiously restricted proposition that St. Peter had been present in Rome, it happened, just as we expected, that after a two-day disputation in all due form (Feb. 9 and 10, 1872), each side withdrew, maintaining that it had not been worsted. The significance of the circumstance was, that in the old papal city it was possible to contend upon this question without risk, by argument, and with but slight restrictions on publicity.

On the outside of the gate opening on the Appian Way there stands a little ancient chapel, named *Domine, quo vadis?* as being on the spot where the Lord met St. Peter liberated, as once before in Jerusalem, from prison, and to His Apostle's question, '*Domine, quo vadis* (Lord, whither goest Thou)?' answered, 'I go to Rome to be crucified afresh.' Then St. Peter perceived that it was unworthy of him to flee, and he went back to his prison. We easily recognize here a pretty legend which makes no pretensions to historical truth. Nevertheless, that chapel preserves as a singular relic a stone, or a reproduction of a stone,

on which the footprint of the Risen Lord has deeply imbedded itself. We must not fail to notice how the assertion, at first indefinite, of a relationship of St. Peter to Rome steadily assumes, after the manner of a legend, a more definite shape, and at length culminates in the assertion that he was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, one month, and nine days. Through the second century there runs a narrative that Simon the magician¹, this Faust of ecclesiastical antiquity, the counterpart of the magi who came to the cradle of Bethlehem², was followed on his wicked journeyings through Syria by St. Peter, who defeated him in disputations, and at last went after him to Rome. When the sorcerer there presumptuously sets out for heaven, and, borne by demons, rises into the air, through the prayer of St. Peter he is miserably precipitated to the earth. This invention, which became a legend, is recorded in various writings dependent upon one another, which, on account of their fabulous and questionable contents, are regarded even by Romish theology as unhistorical. Such is a Jewish Christian tendency-romance under the name of the Clementine Homilies, so far as the adventures of a certain Clement related to the imperial house are interwoven with an esoteric treatise represented by St. Peter. Clement is a figure made up from two Romans of this name, the man of consular rank from the house of the Flavii, who had been executed by his cousin Domitian on charges connected with religion³, and the before-mentioned presbyter in the line of ancestors of the Roman bishops. Simon had for historical prototypes the magician of the Acts of

¹ Acts viii. 9 ff.

² Matt. ii. 1 ff.

³ By the charge of 'atheism', on which he was convicted, there can be little or no doubt that Christianity was intended.

the Apostles, and another at the court of the procurator Felix, to whom he introduced Drusilla, the sister of king Agrippa and wife of the king of Emesa. Moreover, Jewish malignity has transferred to him some traits of St. Paul in a caricatured form. The Clementines probably appeared at Rome about the middle of the second century out of the survival there of Jewish Christianity of the Essene type, but they point back to an older writing, perhaps near the commencement of the century, and this appears to be the earliest record of a visit of St. Peter to Rome, without however any definite interest in the founding and primacy of the Church at Rome, which latter was ascribed rather to the Church of Jerusalem under St. James.

If, however, the Roman bishopric of St. Peter is shown to be a myth, and in the same way the founding of the Roman Church by his means to be an obvious attempt to substitute a distinguished historical personality for the obscure origin of this illustrious Church, the suspicion also arises that that personal relationship of St. Peter to Rome arose altogether in the interests of the Judæo-Christian faction, while the spiritual presence of the tutelary saint of this faction in the Church was altered by a poetical touch to a personal presence. At any rate, the assertion as to the same relationship of St. Peter to the Church of Corinth, demonstrably unhistorical, appears to have originated with the party there who called themselves after Cephas as early as the lifetime of St. Paul¹. And thus it proves to be the fate of the See of Rome, with its unbounded pretensions, as more than once in the course of its development, so in the case of its very foundation, to rest upon a fiction. There is a suspicion

¹ 1 Cor. i. 12.

but no certainty; for another grave of St. Peter, of which a notice occasionally comes into view from the East, is much less trustworthy still than that in St. Peter's; yet it is quite a possibility, since the Saint, whose historically attested activity is confined to the country assigned him by promise and to Syria, passed away without a trace like most of the other Apostles. In any case, as a matter of history, it is a very unstable foundation on which the Papacy has established itself with the claim of a Divine appointment, and on which its champions venture to base the whole of Catholic Christendom.

More firm is the secular foundation upon which the See of Rome arose: its seat in the ancient capital of the world, whence the nations were in the habit of receiving laws, where there still dwelt powerful and rich families, who, gradually beginning with their slaves and freedmen, and proceeding with their women, surrendered themselves to the Roman Church. It is the spirit of the world-subduing Rome herself, which took possession of those bishops in order once more to subdue the world, by means of ideas, and at last by the bolts of excommunication. The Papacy needs not to conceal this, so great is the stress from a religious point of view which its followers even at the present day place upon its temporal dominion. The early Church also has not cloaked this belief. The second ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople¹, when it bestowed on the bishop of this new capital of the Empire precedence after the bishop of Rome, frankly declared the reason, 'because his seat is new Rome.' The Council of Chalcedon² with the same design merely stated this at greater length: 'The Fathers rightly assigned prece-

¹ In 381.

² In 451.

dence to the chair of ancient Rome on account of the predominant position of that city : influenced by the same reasons the 150 bishops (the Council of Constantinople) assigned the like precedence to the chair of new Rome, reasonably judging that the city honoured by the presence of Court and senate, and enjoying the like honours as the elder regal Rome, is also exalted in Church matters like her so as to come next after her¹. The view of primitive Christianity, as it presents itself to us still in the Apocalypse of St. John, that all the vials of the wrath of God shall be poured out upon the city of the seven hills to her utter destruction², was transmuted, through the power of the actual course of events, to the ecclesiastical view that St. Peter chose the eternal city, the metropolis of the nations, in order to found in her with his bishop's chair the seat of the primacy and the centre of religion. Then the reputation of the Church of the city of Rome would certainly be strengthened by the belief in its apostolic origin, justified as that belief was in any case in regard to the influence of St. Paul.

Tertullian³ is appealed to by the accustomed advocates of the Papacy, as already recognizing the Pope as the bishop of bishops. With this happy recognition there is, however, connected a peculiar circumstance. The Roman bishop Callistus⁴ put forth an edict, which announced a light penance and forgiveness for sexual transgressions. Tertullian in his moral earnestness, deeply incensed at this breach of ecclesiastical propriety, with bitter irony calls the bishop of Rome by the name of his pagan colleague, *pontifex maximus*, and, continuing his irony, translates this into *episcopus episcoporum*. What this title betokens in the Church of Africa is to

¹ Canon 28. [H.] ² Rev. xv. 7, xvi. 1. ³ See p. 110. ⁴ Pope 218-23.

be seen from an address of St. Cyprian¹ to a Council over which he presided, namely, one who sets himself up for an ecclesiastical despot. This proud name may in fact have had its rise in Rome, to wit, in the bosom of a faction afterwards regarded as heretical. In the forged letter from Clement of Rome to St. James in Jerusalem, which is prefixed to the Clementine Homilies, he is called bishop of bishops, plainly in imitation of the Jewish high-priesthood, so that even this designation is as much of Jewish as of heathen origin, certainly not of Christian.

A hundred times in papal bulls down to our own day we find the appeal to an expression of St. Cyprian: ‘How can he who does not hold fast to the unity of the Church intend to hold fast to the faith? How can he be confident of being in the Church, who opposes the Church, *who abandons Peter’s seat of doctrine upon which the Church is based?*’ I should not consider the clause printed in italics as impossible in a writing which is composed in support of the unity of the Church, primarily in the interests of Rome against a schism existing there. But this passage is lacking in the older manuscripts and editions. It can hardly be denied that it was not ascribed to St. Cyprian earlier than the sixth century. He recognizes indeed a precedence of the Apostle Peter, and Rome as his seat, but this unity is only regarded by him as the symbol and representative of the unity of the Church. After he has recognized the Divine investiture of St. Peter, he adds cautiously: ‘The other Apostles too were in fact what Peter was, endowed with the same share of honour and power, but the beginning starts from unity, in order that the Church of Christ may be shown to be one.’

¹ See p. 31.

Every subordination under another bishop is at variance with the strong emphasis that he lays on the equality of all bishops, each of whom, appointed by Christ, is alone answerable to the Judge of the living and the dead. When therefore there broke out a dissension between him and Stephanus¹, the bishop of Rome, who, however, only made a general appeal to the tradition of his predecessors, concerning the validity of heretical baptism², the whole African Church abruptly set itself against the Roman contention, and when in consequence Stephanus ventured to exclude them from Church communion, the bishops of Asia as well declared themselves against him. We possess still a letter of bishop Firmilian of Caesarea³ addressed in their name to St. Cyprian, which rebukes in the severest terms the error and presumption of the Roman bishop, and leaves it to his own conscience to justify his designation of St. Cyprian as an apostle of lies. He is rightly indignant at the manifest stupidity of Stephanus, who boasts of his episcopate, and claims to be the successor of St. Peter, on whom the Church's foundations are laid, while he is himself destroying these foundations. He addresses him as though present: 'What great sin hast thou laden thyself with, that thou hast separated thyself from so many Churches? Be not deceived, thou hast separated thyself; for he is in truth the ejected one who has made himself to be a deserter from the fellowship of the Church's unity. For while thou thinkest to excommunicate all others, thou hast only excommunicated thyself.'

But this remonstrance itself proves the claims which

¹ Stephanus I, 254-7.

² Cyprian rejecting, and the bishop of Rome maintaining, the validity.

³ Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 233-72. See Cypr. *Ep.* 25, § 26.

the bishop of Rome about the middle of the third century rested upon the succession of St. Peter. Accordingly after the belief in this was universally accepted, how should we doubt that the bishops of Rome in good faith considered themselves personally his successors, and deduced thence the consequences, which do not indeed hold their ground when subjected to a close historical investigation, but readily harmonize with a fanciful speculation that St. Peter continues to live in his successors, however little he might have been able to recognize himself in many of them. To this extent, next after the majesty of the eternal city, the dominion of the Pope has certainly been based on the belief in the primacy and the succession of St. Peter. Especially does the popular representation of St. Peter sitting with the keys at the gate of heaven exercise a great influence upon the sentiment of the peoples of German descent. In Britain the old Celtic Church was unacquainted with a primacy of St. Peter and his successors, while the new Saxon Church, founded by a mission from Rome, demands this recognition. 'We are all prepared,' said the abbot of Bangor¹ to the Roman delegate, 'to hearken to the Church of God, the bishop of Rome, and every other pious Christian, so that we render to every one unstinted affection according to his position. But we know not that any other obedience can be required of us towards him whom ye call Pope and Father of fathers.' But when the Anglo-Saxon king Oswy² understood that the Lord had entrusted to St. Peter the keys of heaven, and that this was actually to be found in the Bible, he said: 'Since he is the door-

¹ Dinoot (Dunod). But there is considerable doubt as to the details of the story. See W. Bright, *Chapters of Early Church History*, p. 82 f., Oxford, 1878.

² King of Bernicia, part of the kingdom of Northumbria, d. 670.

keeper of heaven, I cannot oppose him, lest perchance when I arrive at the gate of heaven, he keep it closed against me.'

We know nothing as to distinguished personalities among the Roman bishops of the first centuries. We learn indeed by means of a manuscript¹ lately discovered on Mount Athos and written by a popular Romish saint dating from the first decades of the third century, that Callistus, a Christian slave in Rome, having won the favour of his master, set up a bank, in which especially widows and orphans deposited their property. This he squanders, goes bankrupt, takes flight. Overtaken by his master at Ostia, as his ship is just about to start, he throws himself in despair into the sea, and raised at length from a slave's prison to St. Peter's chair, he rules in a manner worthy of these antecedents over the Roman Church, revered by after ages as Saint Calixtus².

But many of these bishops did the greatest thing which the Christianity of that time could do and require, viz. died on its behalf. The bishops of the capital were nearest to the executive powers. Sometimes it had the appearance of their following one another, not so much in office as in martyrdom. This blood of martyrs, shepherds as well as flock, which flowed there in streams, has consecrated the ground of Rome for pious memories, and washed away the abominations of the old capital of the world. Luther himself wrote as late as 1519: 'That the Church is

¹ The reference is to a fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Philosophumena*, brought to Paris from Mount Athos, with other literary treasures in 1842. The *Philosophumena* are now agreed to be the work of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus Romanus, a learned ecclesiastical writer early in the third century.

² The form Calixtus appears for the first time in the eleventh century.

honoured by all there is no doubt, for there St. Peter and St. Paul, forty-six Popes, and many hundred thousands of martyrs poured out their blood, and overcame the powers of hell and the world, so that we may well conceive what a very special regard God has for this Church.'

Not till the middle of the fifth century does a conspicuous personality come into view there, viz. Leo the Great¹, who through the favour of the empress² also interposed decisively in the destinies of the Greek Church. At the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon³ legal decisions were published under his name, and the expression was freely used, 'St. Peter has spoken through Leo.' Fulfilling every ecclesiastical duty as preacher and pastor, he delivered Italy from the barbarians in so wonderful a manner that, when he induced Attila, the Scourge of God, and the terrible army of the Huns, to retreat from Italy, the saying came into vogue that Peter and Paul had hovered over him like avenging spirits with drawn swords. Henceforward there existed the popular conception of invisible powers, which hovered in protection and in vengeance over the successor of St. Peter. With presageful spirit even Leo could thus address the eternal city on the Day of Saints Peter and Paul⁴: 'The Apostles have founded the city better than those who built the walls and stained them with a brother's blood⁵. It is they who have raised thee to this glory

¹ Pope 440-61.

² Pulcheria, who, with her husband Marcian, ascended the Eastern throne in 450.

³ 451.

⁴ June 29.

⁵ Referring to the legend relating to the twin founders of Rome, that Remus was slain by his brother in resentment for his leaping in scorn over the wall, which the latter was raising.

that thou art a holy people, a priestly State, and having become head of the whole earth by reason of the august seat of St. Peter, thou rulest by means of the religion of God more widely than by earthly power.'

The Council of Nicaea (325) desired only to confirm what had shaped itself in the course of time, that the bishops of the three great cities of the Empire, viz. of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, should exercise jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical dioceses which hitherto had been attached to them, in particular, Alexandria over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, so that a bishop should not be allowed within such a diocese against the will of this his metropolitan. The inference drawn from this Canon in Rome was made into the superscription of it, and afterwards run into the text, as the Roman legates adduced it a hundred years later at the Council of Chalcedon: 'The Church of Rome has always had a primacy.' Further Bellarmine interpreted it to mean that the bishop of Alexandria had jurisdiction in Egypt only because the bishop of Rome was accustomed to accord this to him. Later Roman theology confined itself to maintaining, that in the Canon of Nicaea in this apparent placing of the bishop of Rome on a level with those of Alexandria and Antioch, the reference was only to the rights of a metropolitan or patriarch. Quite so; but the Council of Nicaea knew absolutely no other prerogatives of the bishop of Rome, just as the Eastern Church has never known any other. There is also the adverse fact that these ancient ecumenical Councils, which accomplished the doctrinal legislation of the Catholic Church, and from the fourth to the seventh century constituted the highest authority of the whole Church, were neither called together nor presided over by the Pope, nay,

with the exception of the fourth¹ and sixth² were almost unaffected by his influence. The same is proved by many undeniable occurrences also that took place in the West apart from or in opposition to the bishop of Rome, which, according to the later Romish doctrine, could only take place through him. In the face of all these facts Roman craft has found a mode of escape, by asserting that all took place under his tacit consent. With equal justice might it be maintained that the Counts of Hohenzollern were kings of Prussia³ as early as the tenth century, only they tacitly submitted to the country being governed provisionally by others.

The bishops of Rome for a long time set no value upon a special title for themselves, until they acquiesced in the name of their pagan predecessor *pontifex maximus*, and the familiar one of *papa*. The latter was formerly common to other bishops as well, and in the Graeco-Russian Church has descended to the modest rank of the parish priest. Other bishops too were called vicars of Christ (see p. 166), and successors of St. Peter, e. g. St. Ambrose of Milan⁴, as befitting personal dignity, not locality. But when the bishop of the new and favoured capital had himself called an ecumenical bishop, Gregory the Great⁵ wrote to him thus: 'It is with tears that I say that a bishop, whose duty it is to guide others to humility, has himself departed from it. Paul was unwilling to suffer that any one should call himself after him or after Apollos⁶. What art thou prepared to say to Christ, the Head of

¹ Chalcedon, 451.

² Third of Constantinople, 680.

³ Frederick III of Brandenburg was crowned (with the title of Frederick I) as first King of Prussia in 1701.

⁴ Died 397. ⁶ *Lib. v. Ep. 18; Lib. vii. Ep. 33.* [H.] ⁶ 1 Cor. i. 12,

the universal Church, at the last day, when thou seekest to bring all members of the Church into subjection to thee by means of the title of the universal ruler? This haughty name is a copying of Satan, who also exalted himself above all angels.' To consent to this guilty expression is called denial of the faith, while also, as he points out, none of his predecessors in the See of Rome consented to this presumptuous title, although it was offered to them. 'Far from Christian hearts be that blasphemous title, in which all priests have their honour taken away, while the one foolishly usurps it.' Gregory at that time called himself the servant of the servants of God. When his successors retained the title, without for that reason any longer scorning the name of universal bishop or of a bishop over the Catholic Church, the haughty humility in contrast with the actual pretensions was a subject for ridicule; but all the time it was a recognition, although involuntary, of the idea and the genuinely Christian designation of a universal bishop; somewhat as Frederick the Great¹ termed himself the first servant of the State.

The Council of Sardica (343) recognized the bishop of Rome as a kind of court of appeal set over the bishops. Not that he himself was to try them, but 'if a bishop be deprived or otherwise injured, as e. g. by a provincial Synod, and complains of injustice, then, as due to the honour of St. Peter, the Roman bishop Julius² shall be informed of it by letter, in order that under the presidency of a presbyter sent by him a new trial may be held by bishops of a neighbouring pro-

¹ King of Prussia, 1740-86.

² A Pope of great piety and learning, 337-52. He defended St. Athanasius in the Arian controversy.

vince'. This resolution was framed by Western bishops, who desired thereby to secure themselves against deprivation by their neighbours in the bitter Arian controversy. The bishops were thinking of themselves, of a present need: in Rome it was taken to be a permanent matter. Valentinian III (in 445) added the supreme judicial and legislative power of the bishop of Rome. Bishops who resisted were to be handed over to him by the emperor's officers, and what the authority of the apostolic See resolved was to be valid as law. Leo the Great had persuaded the emperor to brace the wavering fidelity of the provinces north of the Alps also by this ecclesiastical bond of strength. The rulers of the Eastern division of the Empire had frequently bestowed like privileges on the bishops of their capital, and Valentinian adduces as justification, along with the merits of St. Peter and the resolution of Nicaea, the dignity of the city of Rome. It was an imperial law, which moreover, according to the Catholic view, in no respect prejudiced the rights of the Church. It was impracticable at that date, but it might in more favourable times strengthen Leo's successors in the consciousness of their rights, and already carries in it the idea of the ecclesiastical monarchy, for we read in the reasons for it, 'Then for the first time will the peace of the Church be secured, when the whole body recognizes its ruler.'

Leo also perceived this to be the securest base for the monarchy: 'The consideration in which the superiors are held is secured, if in none of the inferiors liberty is deemed to be impaired.'

In the new German kingdoms every exercise of the Pope's influence, favoured in the main it is true by the adherence of those who had once been members of

the Roman Empire to the Catholic bishop of the ancient capital, was nevertheless dependent upon the goodwill of the king for the time, until the Pope pronounced his blessing upon a revolution by which the first officer of the household of the Frankish kingdom ascended the throne¹: the legitimate king was shut up in a monastery, and henceforward it seemed to be to the advantage of the new dynasty, in the great German Empire soon to be founded, to exalt the dignity of the bishop who had declared just and holy its usurpation. The Pope² had only taken upon himself the responsibility of a political violation of an oath; but after a few generations the popular imagination pictured it as a transference of the crown, on the part of the holy Father in the name of God, from one dynasty to the other, as the high-priest had in olden time rejected Saul and anointed David.

But while in the downfall of the Carolingian Empire the Church with its rich possessions was exposed to acts of secular violence, there was promulgated, about the middle of the ninth century, a forged code, afterwards called the Pseudo-Isidore Decretals, which assigned to the Pope unlimited authority over the whole Church, as made known, in accordance with the appointment of Christ, by means of the illustrious utterances of the Popes in the way of indisputable legal decisions during the first centuries. This authority was such as had been hitherto exercised in individual districts by bishops of the country, archbishops, national Councils, and imperial Diets. This

¹ Pepin the Short finally deposed the Merovingian dynasty of Frankish kings, and was crowned King of the Franks in 751. He was the founder of the Carolingian Empire (751-911), his son, Charles the Great (Charlemagne), succeeding him in 768

² Zacharias, 741-52.

forgery did not take place under the eyes of the Pope, and not even immediately in his interests, but in order that all Church forces might be combined in the phalanx of the Papacy to check the preponderance of the secular power. The Popes availed themselves of it; themselves credulous of that which the age in its credulity offered them.

After Protestant learning had unveiled this deception, Catholic theology as well was unable to withhold its avowal of the same. 'But,' say modern Romanists, 'it was a harmless fiction, a kind of legal mythology. In no case does the universal power of the Popes as a fact of history rest upon these false foundations, for all which the documents here forged place in the mouth of the Popes has been before now, only somewhat later, expressed by them in genuine documents and carried out as their just rights.' A power like the mediaeval Papacy does not certainly base itself upon the fabrication found in a parchment. Moreover, there is not in fact much that is absolutely new contained in the false Decretals; but that which on some former occasion had been attempted when specially favoured by circumstances or in the face of strong opposition is here maintained as a matter of course, a thing universally recognized, and so too as a matter of old standing in a fresh guise. Leo the Great once reminded the bishop of Thessalonica: 'You are called to a share in our cares, not to the fullness of our authority.' This bishop was Leo's vicar in eastern Illyria. In the false Decretals the same expression is applied to all bishops. The Episcopate is a sort of channel of papal authority. Accordingly there exists already here the germ of the idea which had developed into the Vatican resolution as to the universal bishop. But fresh pretensions as

well are not altogether lacking. It is new that a layman must not appear as accuser of a bishop. It is new that there is not only in all cases given an appeal to the Pope from the sentence of a Synod, but also that the decisions of a Synod are only valid so far as they are recognized by the Pope. But what was the importance of maintaining that Popes of olden days once claimed a thing of this kind? It was that thereby it appeared to be an old established right, and facts, even though only presumed, are often more powerful than ideas. It is so convenient to think, 'so it has always been, as early as the time already encompassed with the sacred glamour of antiquity; then we may safely declare it to be right and the will of Christ.' Intellectual power is of no account, if anything which already exists in the age as an obscure aim is spoken out with full resoluteness and is 'encompassed with the glamour' of that which has always been current. Therefore this forgery, which was certainly a pillar of the mediaeval Papacy at the opening of its career, holds its ground now as its programme. In addition to this there appeared further in the thirteenth century a sort of Indian summer of fabricated Greek evidence, especially forged writings of St. Cyril of Alexandria¹, which had a prominent place in establishing the belief of St. Thomas Aquinas² in the universal monarchy of the Pope, and, by means of his reputation, in swaying men's minds. In general it was less the innocent fictions of legends than deceptive forgeries which had penetrated the older history of the Papacy, so that even an heretical

¹ Died 444, archbishop of Alexandria, intemperate in his zeal for the cause of orthodoxy.

² The famous Italian theologian and scholastic philosopher ('Doctor Angelicus'), an ornament of the Dominican Order; d. 1274.

intruder like Felix II¹ obtained admission to the list of Popes and Romish saints, and the whole of the Middle Ages believed in him. The confession of a convert and distinguished teacher of ecclesiastical law is: 'In no department has there been such barefaced forgery and lying as here.'

This Middle Age, especially in its opening and closing centuries, had many a worldly, nay, profligate Pope, who hardly believed in the God whose Viceroy he called himself, and as representative of Christ may have found the fables concerning Him very lucrative. Among these there come many insignificant men, such as arise out of the party conflicts of an elective rule; but all of them merely show that independently of personalities the Papacy was borne by an historical necessity towards its destination in the system of things—a destination which some born rulers seated on St. Peter's throne, ruling spirits after the manner of Alexander, Julius Caesar, or the first Napoleon, only dipped in mediaeval piety, perceived, and, so far as was given to the individual man, rendered a reality. Since Gregory VII² the Papacy has been imbued with this idea, viz. in the place of God and by means of spiritual power to make God's law a force upon earth in all respects against the passions alike of Princes and of peoples, and to gather them all in the peace of God around the one Shepherd. Thus arose this wonderful world-kingdom, which extended from Syracuse to Iceland, from Jerusalem to the Ebro, held together merely by an idea. It was a huge undertaking in the midst of a time when might constituted right; but even this

¹ Pope 355-8, chosen by the Arian party to succeed Liberius, who had been banished. On the return of the latter he was expelled from Rome.

² See p. 169.

dominion of rough violence, where within the very same State every individual could declare an honourable feud against another, evoked that absolutely contrasted force and bore with it. The Papacy and the Empire, in which two things the imagination of the Middle Ages represented to itself the chief and universal authority upon earth, appeared like the sun and moon, so that the emperor shone only by a borrowed light; the relation of all secular power to the Pope being thus foreshadowed in the eternal order of nature. These Popes, as skilful as they were fanciful, so that it is hard to say whether they were more the one or the other, had also no hesitation, with a view to their difficult conflict for the furtherance of their Divine claims against the imperial power, in making the people their stay and becoming a shield for civil liberty, while yet that held good also for them which Tacitus says of the later priest-kings of Judea: 'They favoured superstition, since the honouring of the priesthood was regarded as the basis of power.'¹ For the one defect remained in the vast system of supernatural claims that these Vice-roys of God were themselves but men, and men the power of whose passions was proportioned to the richness of their endowments.

In presence of that spiritual despotism, on which the Romano-German Empire was shivered, there appeared, opposing itself to Innocent III² at the head of the Papacy, a rescuing power in the shape of the nobility and commons of England, holding in their hand the *Magna Charta*, the foundation code of a people striving for civil liberty. The last theocratic Pope was Boniface VIII³, who declared that the subjection of all creatures

¹ *Hist.*, v. 8. [H.]

² See p. 115.

³ See p. 77. Philip the Fair had imposed taxes on the French clergy. Against this Boniface issued the Bull *Clericis laicos* in 1296.

to the Pope was necessary for salvation. To confront him the King of France threw himself into the arms of his people. The *tiers état*¹, together with the nobility and clergy, as early as that date introduced the prelude to the Revolution. It was not, however, in this, but in the firm ordering of the State on a popular basis that there rested a secure defence against the political encroachments of the Papacy.

There came the time when, in consequence of this defeat and by the skilful use of the intrigues which belong to an elective monarchy, the Popes at Avignon² were in the power of the Kings of France, and when the old Roman Papacy desired to be delivered from this Babylonish captivity, as it was termed in Italy—the double-headed Papacy, about whose claims a decision of universal validity was never attained. In fine, there came the time of the great reforming Councils³, from which the legal dispute as to the papal and episcopal systems originated. This dissension within the Catholic Church is not so easily set aside as Möhler supposes. He says: 'The papal system, without refusing to acknowledge the Divine institution of bishops, brought only the central power into marked prominence. The episcopal system, without denying the Divine appointment of the primacy, sought to direct the power by preference towards the circumference. While in accordance with this each recognized the essential character of the other as Divine, they constituted for Church life very salutary contrasts, so that through their reciprocal action both the characteristic free development of the

¹ The name given to that portion of the French nation which belonged neither to the two privileged orders (nobility and clergy) nor to the peasantry. Their representatives in the last States-General succeeded in attaining supreme authority, and so consummated the first Revolution.

² 1309-76.

³ Constance and Basel; see p. 19.

parts was guaranteed, and also the combination of these into an indivisible and living whole was secured.' This view of history, making out all to be for the best, would never have passed current in Rome, for there no rest was found until the grey-haired bishop von Hontheim¹, the German spokesman on the episcopal side, had a retractation extracted from him as necessary for the saving of his soul. This was not without justification from the standpoint of the papalists, because for the episcopal system the Divine appointment of the Papacy remains only a concession to custom or courtesy. The papal monarchy cannot be necessary as a thing of Divine right for all time, if it can be at any time replaced by the episcopal aristocracy. Möhler himself added: 'The Councils of Constance and Basel involve the main issues of the episcopal system. They say that the Pope is *subject* to a general Council, regularly summoned, and representing the Church militant—a one-sided view which, if carried to its logical conclusions, would threaten the Church with annihilation. This untutored view may be considered as already consigned to oblivion.' Nevertheless, along with the resolutions of those general Councils recognized by the Popes of their day, this view has also on its side the testimony of the greatest of all Popes. When Innocent III² refused to recognize the marriage of the King of France as null and void with a view to fresh nuptials, he wrote thus to the latter: 'If we were to venture to come to any decision on this matter without the advice of a

¹ Nicholas von Hontheim, suffragan bishop of Trier, in 1763 published under the name Justinus Febronius a treatise maintaining the supreme authority of general Councils and the independence of bishops. It made a great impression. In 1778 Pius VI extorted a recantation.

² See p. 115. The reference is to his forcing Philip Augustus of France to take back his Queen Ingeburga of Denmark in 1200.

general Council, irrespective of the wrong done to God and the disgrace before the world, into which we should thereby have fallen, we should run the risk of losing priesthood and office.'

As soon as the whole Catholic Church really gathered in the persons of her representatives, there became evident in fact a power to replace, and so too to threaten, the papal monarchy, yet always in consonance with St. Jerome's meaning when he said: 'The world is greater than Rome, the world greater than the Pope.' Pius II¹, it is true, declared to be heretical appeals to a general Council which he previously as Aeneas Sylvius willingly registered at Basel, and this declaration was often repeated by his successors; but the offended religious conscience has always considered that it has a right to appeal to a general Council, or to Jesus Christ Himself. The saying—how often misapplied!—'We must obey God rather than men,'² does not hold only with regard to the high-priesthood at Jerusalem. Not less threatening for the Papacy appeared the German conception, which has prevailed since Febronius³, of the episcopal system: the distinction between essential claims, which in the first seven centuries the Roman bishop exercised as of Divine appointment, and accidental claims (*accidentalia*), which the Pope, following out the Pseudo-Isidore Decretals, usurped, such as canonizations, dispensations, reserved cases of conscience, appointment of bishops, which, as coming of human right, could also be taken away from him. Thus they are precisely those rights in which his power at the time consists. This distinction between essential and accidental claims on the part of the Pope was designated by Roman theology as a treacherous

¹ See p. 23.

² Acts v. 29.

³ See p. 234.

coalition with Protestantism, and as an impiety towards the common Father of Christendom.

The Popes after the Reformation, since Adrian¹, the last German Pope, who considered nothing to be more unfortunate than his papal dignity, were generally speaking worthy men of serious and pious aspect. It could not be otherwise in the presence of the sharp eyes of Protestantism. For this long time things have no more come to such a pass, as Boccaccio² relates of his time in his pleasant romance, that a Jew was persuaded to go to Rome so as to become a Christian. He did become one, but it was because he perceived that that religion must be indeed Divine, which did not disappear through the action of such men as those in whose hands he found it there. Also the old saying is no longer in use, 'The nearer Rome is, the nearer hell.' If Lamennais³ complained that he had found no other God in Rome but self-interest, 'There men would sell nations, the human race, the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, one after the other or all together for a morsel of land or for a few piastres,' this was language prompted by the wounded self-assertion of that angel fallen from the Catholic heaven. But there is no doubt that every important individuality was excluded from the papal throne by means of the right of exclusion, which the crowns of Austria, France, Spain, and Portugal asserted in the Conclave⁴ much more strenuously

¹ Born at Utrecht, Pope 1522-3.

² The celebrated Italian novelist and poet; d. 1375; author of the *Decameron*. His death was hastened by that of his friend Petrarch.

³ See p. 72.

⁴ The claim was declared void by Pius IX in 1871 and 1877, yet at the Conclave which elected Pius X (August, 1903) it is generally believed that Austria vetoed Cardinal Rampolla. It was disregarded in the election of Cardinal Caraffa as Paul IV (1555) in spite of the veto of Charles V.

than in the choice of bishops. Accordingly Perrone himself considers, as opposed to the Divine appointment of the Papacy, the choice of the Pope for the time to be a purely human act; and he who knows the particulars of some Conclaves will find it only too human, although the old proverb no longer holds, 'When a Pope is being elected, the devils are never at home.' It was only through an unlimited suppression of his imperious temper, which an anecdote handed down to us has emphasized, that Sixtus V attained the throne¹; but at any rate he was a mightily effective prince, such as the States of the Church needed, and a zealous priest. The marvel of an enlightened Pope, Clement XIV², was affected by the peculiar circumstances of the time. He had, it is true, conveyed indirectly to the Cardinals representing the interests of Spain and France the promise to abolish the Order of Jesuits as the condition of his election, but in the Conclave he had actually drawn up a formal opinion for the king of Spain to the effect that the Pope, although the Jesuits disputed it, was justified in abolishing this Order which had been sanctioned by the Council of Trent; and he was often enough called upon by the ambassadors of those powers to redeem this indirect pledge.

Let us look what the Papacy has rendered unavoidable—and particularly for the German Church—in consequence of its own reinstallation after the overthrow of Napoleon I. First of all there is its influence on the election of bishops. The canonical appointment of bishops by the Pope, as a recognition by the Church, without which no bishop is held to be authorized, can,

¹ See p. 140. The story was that on the day of his election he threw away the stick on which, with all the appearance of the feebleness of age, he had long been wont to lean.

² See p. 100. Pope 1769-74.

it is true, according to Canon Law, be refused only by definite legal process. But according to the latest procedure it is refused also without any such process, and this is the great method by which the modern Papacy exercises its power over the Church. Yet a Council at Rome in 1080, under the presidency of the greatest of the Popes¹, had laid down that the canonical institution is imparted by the Pope or by the proper metropolitan. When by the gradual extrusion of the archbishops from this right, the Pope acquired the power to exclude from a bishopric any one who was displeasing to him, a check was certainly hereby put to the arbitrariness of Princes. But as each election of a bishop is only a compromise between the interests of Pope and Prince, the risk presents itself² that even where there is a fair partition between these two, the Church of the country will go away empty-handed, and it would be difficult to deny that by other modes of election directed simply by the Church of the country, as the early Church had them, and as nations since 1789 more than once have attempted to have them, at any rate not less suitable bishops might have been selected, and more in touch with their people.

Thus then we have to thank the Pope for the Concordats, or by whatever other name we are to call his agreements with the government of a country as to the constitution of their Church, inasmuch as those concluded with Protestant Princes are not held to be worthy of that name. By these transactions with a foreign power commensurate in dignity the German Churches, after the fall of the German State Church, obtained a fresh legal basis, the bishops, in due relation to highly placed Protestant ministers, receiving large

¹ Gregory VII. See p. 169.

² See p. 171.

salaries with authority over the other clergy and over the schools. But if these Churches had combined to form one national Church, as was taken in hand under the 'Punctation'¹ of Ems and frustrated simply through Romish influence, or even so far as to have an assembly of bishops and theological experts, as took place in 1848 at Würzburg, why should they not have obtained what their Church certainly needed, and with much more complete concurrence on the part of the nation? The result would have been that the Catholic Church could no longer have ventured to trust to the people for support, and therefore, no longer sheltered by the, at any rate apparent, protection of the Pope, must have dreaded falling completely into the hands of the Princes. In any case, the time of Concordats has passed away, and the jesting speech, 'The absence of a Concordat is the best Concordat,' become a popular force. Austria in 1855 allowed a Concordat to be pressed upon her involving the renunciation of her existing rights. By this Concordat she handed over the rights essentially belonging to the State into foreign hands directed from abroad, and incurred the risk of being at issue with German education. Her intention was by means of the approval of the bishops—for the parochial and monastic clergy sighed over the innovation—to establish the wavering provinces in their loyalty, and as Catholic protector of Germany to bear rule over all the branches of this faith. We have seen the result. In 1868, after the State in its self-emancipation had already in various ways broken through the new ecclesiastical trammels, the elevation of the Papacy to

¹ This document was drawn up in 1786 in defence of episcopal as against papal rights by prominent bishops of German-speaking countries, and was based on the writings of von Hontheim. See p. 234.

what was simply an unlimited monarchy supplied the opportunity for shaking off the Concordat. What took place in Baden and, in spite of those who surrounded the king, in Württemberg, had sooner or later to be adopted as a precedent for all Germany. It was not precisely creditable that a convention, concluded with the Roman See after negotiations lasting for a year, was first published by the authorities of the country as a law, in order after the lawful resistance offered by the Chambers to report it again to the Roman Court. Pius VII too, however, cancelled the Concordat of Fontainebleau¹ which had been fully concluded with the Emperor Napoleon before his expulsion, and withdrew another concluded with the Bourbon dynasty, in order not to expose it to the storms of a debate in the Chambers. In fact the usual closing words of a papal document, which in some sort call down the wrath of Saints Peter and Paul upon every one who venture to alter even an iota in this sacred pronouncement, are slow to accommodate themselves altogether to the constitutional proceedings of a State. For an agreement entered into by the government of a country, so far at least as it determines matters connected with legal relationships and external property, cannot become valid without the consent of those who have a share in the legislation. The terms made on the part of a national government relating to Church matters with the Pope, and with him not in the first instance as a sovereign Prince but as the chief pontiff of his Church, is not an international compact, which could only rightfully be cancelled by agreement on both sides, but, being limited by the fact that a foreign ruler is not to dictate with regard to internal German affairs, it is merely in the

¹ See p. 169.

position of a law which cannot either come into force or be cancelled except with the approval of the constitutional agents of legislation. Therefore a real constitutional vitality on the part of a State is fatal for every Concordat, and only some such Diet as that of our worthy Tyrolese¹ would meekly accept such from the hands of its Father confessors, if only it might be trusted to keep the Protestants off them. A legal ordinance of the Church, having its origin merely in a law approved by the Chambers, certainly does not correspond to the Church's consciousness of her own rights, and is only an ordinance by compulsion. But why should not the political legislature be able to come to an understanding with a free German national Council as to what the Church truly needs of the goods and rights of this world?

Further, dispensations of many kinds are applied for from the papal court. It would be acting a shameless part to deny that these could not also be imparted with equal conscientiousness and less cost from a German common episcopal authority. Moreover, the holy Father forbad many books and condemned two aspiring branches of German theology. A national policy could in any case confiscate books instead of refuting them. But the theological schools—to say nothing here as to the occasion and significance of their ill-fortune—and the Church of the Middle Ages had sustained in their midst altogether different elements of opposition from this harmless philosophy of Hermes² and of Günther³, who were held in repute by bishops and pious priests

¹ See p. 96.

² Georg Hermes, a German Roman Catholic theologian, founder of a rationalizing theory of the relation of reason to faith; d. 1831.

³ Anton Günther, a German philosopher and Roman Catholic theologian; d. 1863.

until the bolt of condemnation from Rome struck them.

The Pope is withal a convenience to bishops, in order by his means to keep their priests in subjection, and, in case a bishop at some time thinks fit to violate laws of the State, that he may have in the Pope a protector, or at least a fervent panegyrist. A freer, more dignified position for the parish clergy after the fashion of the ancient presbyters might also be desired upon strongly Catholic principles; and as regards rebellious bishops, experience has shown that a rule absolute, yet not tyrannical, is sure to obtain the support of this papal protection; but that support disappears when brought face to face with a Prince, who can rely upon his people as constitutionally represented. Panegyrics as well will not be lacking to a bishop who has some aspirations after martyrdom, and we are prepared to concede them to him. At Trent the episcopal order, as against the intrusions of the Papacy, maintained for itself as of right a special domain, laying claim to institution direct from Christ and the Apostles together and accordingly to a Divine right (*jure divino*), and the legal view was maintained that it was only on the occurrence of disputes and irregularities that the Holy Father was summoned to interpose in the administration of a bishop's diocese. To such a right Cardinal d'Andrea¹, as bishop of Sabina, and archbishop Darboy² of Paris had appealed against Pius IX, when the Vatican Council did away with every domestic right of a bishop in the face of the universal bishop. To sovereign princes also the Pope has been from time to

¹ Girolamo Andrea, d. 1868. His liberalism, and specially his leanings towards Italian unity, led to his suspension in 1866. He was reinstated after humble submission in the following year.

² See p. 47.

time convenient, although no longer in the fashion of the Middle Ages, in order to dispense from oaths which appeared inconvenient to keep, and to lay low every merely human right—the Pope,' says Bossuet¹, 'is all powerful, when necessity requires it'—but in order to break down the opposing forces of the Church of the country. 'If there were no Pope, one would have to make one,' said Napoleon I, adapting a witty saying of Voltaire, which aimed yet higher², before the concluding of his first Concordat. At that time however, like other sovereigns before and after him, he found the papal pretensions very inconvenient.

Lastly, as matters of public property the German Church has also to thank the Pope for the re-establishment of the Jesuits and the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. Without attempting here to appraise the real Catholic value of these two pieces of property, at any rate experience undeniably tells us that every Catholic nation, so soon as it can move its arms freely, makes use of them to get rid of the Jesuits. Pius IX himself in 1848 was obliged to decree their withdrawal from Rome; and whatever be the case with the mysterious birth of the Holy Virgin, at all events the earlier position of the Church, when people could with equal piety accept or reject this dogma, was in this respect quite endurable.

If we consider all these facts, it can scarcely be made out that at present or within the visible future the Pope is necessary to a German national Church, and therefore to any other. The modern Papacy in all its plenitude of ecclesiastical power accomplished virtually

¹ The celebrated prelate, preacher, historian, and philosophical writer; d. 1704.

² 'If there were no God, &c.'

nothing for ecclesiastical learning, true piety, and the removal of abuses: rather was it the case at one time, when there really passed through the Church a fresh breath of Christian life, that all manifestations of that life were dealt with only in proportion to the amount of their submissiveness. Nevertheless the significance of the Papacy in history, we may even say in the world's history, is unmistakably imprinted on the monuments of the past. It showed a narrowness of view, to be accounted for by the crudeness of an age whose culture was confined to religion, as also by the mutual fanaticism of the conflict, that our orthodox ancestors in all seriousness held the Pope to be Anti-christ (or, as some pronounced it, *End of Christ*), who causes himself to be worshipped in the Temple of God, as well as that he is occasionally entitled in the doctrinal books of Lutheranism an Epicurean and Judas, a chief among knaves and the devil's Apostle.

As Luther still maintained at the disputation of Leipzig¹, the Papacy is a matter of human institution; or, as Melanchthon² said in subscribing to the Articles of Smalcald³: 'Of the Pope I hold, so long as he is willing to permit the Gospel, that for the sake of peace and the general unity of those Christians, so long as they are under him and desire to continue so, his superiority over the bishops *jure divino* is also to be conceded by us.' This moderation at a time when Luther departed from Smalcald with the words 'May God fill you with hatred of the Pope!' was a subject of bitter reproach against Melanchthon all his life on the part of his religious associates. It was, it must be

¹ A religious discussion, in 1519, in which Luther appeared on one side, and John Eck of Ingolstadt on the other.

² See p. 3.

³ See p. 9.

confessed, a very unpractical truth, for the Pope could not, and never can, permit the Gospel in the Protestant sense ; and yet it is a truth, namely, that the Papacy grows through inevitable historical development of circumstances, to which men are *nolens volens* subservient. Such an institution, clothed with rights of human origin, when it has had a powerful existence of over a thousand years, is to a pious view of history nothing short of a constituent element of the Divine will, only not in the narrow Catholic sense that Christ at some time or other instituted the primacy of the Apostle Peter and his successors as a sovereignty over the Church for all time. But that which has arisen historically, owing to a combination of peculiar circumstances, can and actually will some time under other circumstances become extinct.

On the other hand, it is urged as the last support for a direct Divine institution that Christ for the sake of the unity of the Church instituted St. Peter as its head, and that, as this reason continues for all time, the institution is necessarily extended to each of his successors. But Christ committed the unity of the Church to His Apostles collectively, not to obedience bestowed upon one of them. In vain do we seek for external unity by means of a definite head, except by means of the invisible One in heaven above, and especially where two or three are met together in His name. Vainly do we look for this in the time of the Apostles or in the centuries next following. Rather we know by documentary evidence that James, Peter, and John on the one side, Paul and Barnabas on the other, divided the world between them (unconscious that the arrangement suggested the lion's share in the fable) ; the former as the Apostles for the Circumcision,

the latter for all other nations, without any sort of conditions, only that they should remember the poor in Jerusalem; a thing which even in Rome will not be regarded as a tribute, a token of subjection.

Later, and as a gradual growth from the fifth century onwards, the Pope certainly became the rallying point of the Christian nations of the West, who gathered in the Middle Ages as a great family round the common Father and combined for undertakings like the Crusades. But the unity of the faith, of the episcopal polity, and of definite sacred customs could always be made known by the bishops on the occasion of their institution and by the national Churches to one another, and contentions as they broke out could be mutually adjusted. Whatever orders of this kind are issued by Rome, the differences of national circumstances must nevertheless have long recognized cases where there were presented facts, consummated and incapable of being reversed. The Pope, e. g., recognized the confiscation of Church property, the payment of the clergy out of the public treasury, and civil marriage in France, whereas, when the one was commenced and the other contemplated in Piedmont, it was there an unheard-of crime, which the Holy Father threatened with all the curses of the Church and with every form of appeal to the passions of the people.

If, however, we acknowledge the historical merits of the Papacy in securing the unity of the Church, this has a contrary side as well. The great severance of the Eastern Church from the West primarily arose owing to monarchical pretensions of the Popes, to which the patriarchs of the Eastern Church could not reconcile themselves. Even in these days it was the intrusion of the Pope in the election and rights of Eastern

bishops¹ that led to the secession of a good part of the Armenian Church from communion with the Roman. The cleavage extends from Constantinople to the Armenian monastery in the shadow of the Vatican, and almost all scattered congregations, whose predecessors submitted to the Church of Rome, threaten to separate. In the Western Church itself the episcopal and papal systems involve in reference to the Pope a deeply seated opposition, which, owing to the attempted overthrow of episcopal rights, is likely to become a permanent rupture. Lastly, even granting that the setting up by Protestantism of a Church of its own was the work of Providence, yet it was through the haste with which the Popes hurled their Bulls of excommunication, that those who were minded for reform were obliged at once to separate; and it was owing to the alarm of the Popes in presence of the prevailing force of the Protestant element within their Church that, contrary to the emperor's dissuasives, their dogmas were crystallized at Trent in such a manner as now for the first time excluded any reconciliation. Romish theologians have ventured to apply the great prophecy of our Lord as to one flock and one shepherd² to the Pope. Then, however, it would follow—and most emphatically if we adopt the Romish view, that the Church until the separation of Eastern Christianity preserved its unity under St. Peter's successors—that the fulfilment would be ever receding further, first owing to this separation, and then owing to the Protestant one.

For all that the rise of the monarchical feature which crowns the Papacy is not fortuitous. Scorners liked to ask, 'Where is Christ not to be found?' and to answer,

¹ By a Bull dated 1867.

² John x. 16.

‘Not in Rome, for there He has a Viceroy.’ They are fond of saying: ‘As Pius IX appears as the Viceroy of Christ upon earth, so does Christ as the Viceroy of the Pope in heaven.’ A Church, however, which desired to represent everything ideal as realized in fact, and everything immaterial as translated into visible shape, had a natural disposition to exhibit the spiritual Head of the Church in an actual form, apparent to the senses in His earthly representative, and thus in the unity of this personality to gaze upon the unity of the Church. But at the same time there became also visible all the frailty of this inclination, partly through the fact that the ostensible Viceroy of Christ was not recognized by millions, who none the less for that reason confessed Christ, and partly because, of these poor men, who were supposed to represent the God-Man, the best were simply unable to do it, while others did it in such a way that even to think of Christ in that connexion seemed sacrilegious. For the noble words of the Baptist in reference to Christ in the mouth of such a Pope seemed to be inverted, and to run: ‘He must decrease, I must increase’¹. Protestantism, on the other hand, has not by means of a bare negation exhibited the Church without a head, but rather has denied the spurious interposition, in order to recognize Christ as unique Head—an ideal recognition certainly, but one which strives towards realization, in that Christ, by means of His Word sounding forth from Holy Scripture and by means of His Holy Spirit, governs the Church, so that everything taking place in it which is opposed to Him is in itself void.

If the Pope thus belongs to Catholicism somewhat as the tower to the church as its highest elevation, yet

¹ See John iii. 30.

he is not essential to Catholicism. So, as is well known, there are Churches, and those very ones the most ancient, which are not simply furnished with their tower as a necessary part, but owing to their peculiarity of style merely suffer the tower as a heterogeneous element placed near them. 'A visible head,' says Möhler, 'is necessarily given with a visible Church.' Yet in her great epoch of martyrdoms she existed very well without this. The whole plausibility of that argument lies in the comparison of the Church to a human body. One might as fairly claim to liken it to the apocalyptic dragon, which had as many as seven heads¹, and these not without an allusion to Rome. The Apostle enumerates many offices and gifts in order to construct the body of Christ: an earthly head he has altogether forgotten. Therefore it was an error when Pius IX termed the committal of the primacy both of honour and of jurisdiction to St. Peter and his successors as the cardinal point on which turned the whole question at issue between Catholics and all who hold other faiths, and as the source of all their errors. And it is not by way of mere rhetoric when Veuillot² exclaims: 'Without the Pope there is no Church, nay, there is no Christian religion.' On the other hand, it is often the uncatholic temper within the Catholic Church which attacks the Pope. When the Directory of the French Republic in 1797 wrote to Italy: 'This old idol must be destroyed. We desire to leave the Dalai Lama³ of Europe without successors,' the appropriate concluding sentence was: 'It is our desire that

¹ Rev. xii. 3.

² A leader of the French Ultramontanes, and editor of the Paris *Univers*; d. 1883.

³ The title of the ruler of Tibet, who lives a life of isolation from the world.

with him his religion should be buried.' Yet we must not deceive ourselves: Catholicism does not stand and fall with the Papacy. For the essential character of the former, the assertion that the idea and the realization of this definite Church fully correspond to one another, can very well exist without the Pope, as it always has existed and still exists in the East, the unity of the orthodox Church being guarded by the different patriarchs and synodal authorities, and with a deeper impression upon the national life than Roman Catholicism exercises, but with the fanciful claims to the like prerogatives of being infallible and the only way of salvation.

In this connexion stress might perhaps be laid upon the maintenance of the Papacy, so far as its personal aspect, whenever it comes to be represented by an appropriate personality—this chief pontiff and ecclesiastical Prince, on whom rests so great a heritage and on whom the faith of millions is placed, possesses something imposing, uplifting the faithful, perhaps winning over the wavering. The noted benediction pronounced on Maundy Thursday and Easter Day, even if only aesthetically regarded, has something which lays hold of every unbiased person, and I should be inclined to maintain that when our Lord blessed the children, or the multitude after the Sermon on the mount, it did not present so splendid an appearance as at the bestowal of this benediction in such majestic architectural surroundings. Pius IX from 1870 onwards gave up this solemnity through wrath or timidity. His successor, who is not pledged to the fiction, now grown somewhat tedious, of an imprisonment of the Divine Viceroy, will naturally recommence these benedictions. Catholicism has always set store

by such moments of powerfully working sentiment; yet those touched by it are only the individuals who have the agreeable opportunity of experiencing it.

But this whole consideration of the Papacy as feeble and not indispensable seems to be untimely when the Vatican Council has resolved that the Pope possesses a plenitude of power such as the most powerful Popes of the Middle Ages scarcely ever exercised. The bishops, partly in full agreement partly in submission, have cast themselves down at the feet of the Holy Father, and individually and collectively placed all their rights in his hands. Meanwhile this time is full of glaring contrasts. The apotheosis of July 18 was girt with menacing omens, and it is a question whether the bishops will always be backed up by fanatically disposed or indifferent nations.

B. The Infallible Bishop

As the supernatural condition to which was attached that unlimited power, there hovered over the Vatican Council, from its first day onwards, the dogma of the *personal infallibility* of the Pope, either as the completion of the Catholic faith or as a sword, according to the standpoint of the beholder. Pius IX did not announce this in his letter of summons. The committee of preparation, acting in consonance with the advice of foreign theologians, announced that the Council was intended, like that of Trent, to establish anew in vast comprehensiveness the faith, the constitution, and the discipline of the Church against all errors and oppositions of this time. The German bishops put forth from their gathering at the grave of St. Boniface on September 6, 1869, a pastoral letter, in the face of apprehensions and misrepresentations spread abroad

by enemies of the Church, as though, with the sanction of the State, new doctrines incompatible with culture and learning were about to go forth from the impending Council, while the Holy Father under the influence of a faction would make use of the Council as a means for unduly enhancing the power of the apostolic See, setting up a spiritual authority unendurable by Christian liberty. The pastoral letter, on the other hand, is a warrant for absolute peace of mind, not only as giving the usual guarantee for perfectly free and frank procedure, but also as resting on the Divine promise, that successors of St. Peter and the Apostles, as were the Pope and the bishops, regularly assembled in a general Council, will promulgate without error doctrine which shall never be other than that based upon Holy Scripture and apostolic tradition, and already written in the hearts of Christian nations. Yet an outcry was raised against the prelates on their way to Rome that they were above all else summoned to the solemn recognition of the infallibility of the Holy Father, and the archbishop of Paris himself announced antecedently to the Council that the decree of infallibility which was required was not *one* of the causes of the Council, it was the sole cause. In fact, everything needful for the purpose was previously prepared in the way of subjugating theology to Rome, and of drawing over great masses of people, both nobility and common folk.

The infallible possession of truth in the head of a mortal appears so nearly related to omniscience and so exclusive an attribute of the Godhead, that a man might almost as readily be declared omnipotent as infallible. Therefore it was precisely those who had this infallibility most at heart who sought to set up a definite limitation for it. For no one desired to think

that a Pope in familiar conversation with his valet uttered only Divine truth; or that as Sovereign of the States of the Church he was infallible, as perchance Gregory XVI occasionally appealed to his freedom from error against the views of his minister of finance; or even if a Pope turns historian—as there have indeed been learned Popes, and Benedict XIV¹ during his office as Pope composed great theological works—who would wish to maintain that such books contained, like the Bible, infallible truth?

The limitation generally applied for centuries was the exclusive infallibility of that which the Pope proclaimed *ex cathedra*, from his apostolic chair as a teacher. But this is only a figurative expression, like 'Moses' seat,' on which the Pharisees sat²; for the Pope does not first, like the Delphic priestess on the tripod, seat himself on the chair of St. Peter (on which, by the way, not inappropriately to the early Papacy the deeds of Hercules are engraved), if he desires to pronounce his decisions with the highest authority. Accordingly the infallibility is generally limited to that which the Pope, after careful weighing and deliberation, lays down with regard to the faith and practice of the Church. But what really belongs to the faith, and more especially what belongs to the practice of the Church, is expressed in Italian by a term of still wider significance, *costumi* (customs, uses), and is subject to very various interpretations. Careful deliberations as to important questions on the part of appointed congregations, to whom, in addition to the high dignitaries, learned theologians have been summoned as advisers, belong to Roman usage, and have not been overlooked by a Pope who was conscientious, or even merely

¹ See p. 100.

² Matt. xxiii. 2.

sensible; but these human methods cannot be taken as a qualification for something which is only thought of as Divine inspiration or preservation from error; and as according to the Catholic view an ecumenical Council, suddenly illuminated by the Holy Spirit, can give by acclamation an infallible decision, so this sudden illumination of the Spirit, apart from deliberation, had to be conceded also to an infallible Pope. Accordingly a notion of infallibility which should be at once universal and determinate could only well be framed as embracing all which a duly elected Pope as chief ruler of the Roman Catholic Church officially taught and ordered.

Is then the Pope really exempted from the universal lot of mankind? To establish his infallibility it would be necessary, even on Catholic principles themselves, that he should be first of all instituted by Christ and imbued with the faith of the apostolic Church, or at least trained up in it. The institution has been found in the words of our Lord to St. Peter: 'I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren¹.' Previously He spoke of grievous temptation, afterwards of his denial, but Peter protests that he will follow Him to prison and to death. The words, at once of warning and of comfort, thus have to do with his belief in Christ, his trust in the Messiah, as threatened and shaken by His approaching earthly end, but not with any kind of unconditional knowledge of religious truths and Church dogmas, arising from a future infallibility in his doctrinal decisions. In Rome this has been interpreted in a light-hearted way: 'Either the prayer of Jesus was unavailing, or Peter was infal-

¹ Luke xxii. 32.

lible, and thus also were his successors.' Every prayer of Jesus was not secure of unconditional fulfilment, not even a prayer with regard to His own fate ¹, and that for the unity of Christendom still awaits its fulfilment in the far future ². The prayer for St. Peter in fact carried with it resignation to the partial non-fulfilment, for it expressed faith in the coming conversion, when Peter would come to himself. His position of exceptional privilege is also indicated in these words of our Lord, but of a kind which is determined alike by the strength and the weakness of his character. For by a significant dispensation of Providence it has happened that it is precisely this Apostle, upon whom one part of the Church bases such boundless pretensions, who, instead of simply proving himself to be faithful, denies the Lord, and once again, this time after he had received the Holy Spirit, through fear of the Jewish zealots, denies the free religion of the spirit, that is not bound to Zion or to Gerizim ³. Consequently if the promise, or more strictly speaking the expectation, of Jesus was wholly directed to the individual Apostle, it is an arbitrary and groundless assumption to refer this at the same time to the general mass of his presumed successors, of whom although it is true that every one has not denied the Lord, yet it is also true that every one has not strengthened his brethren. Even the most ardent in the faith, albeit they consider it immensely important that in this turmoil of human propensities and errors a particular man should be furnished with this Divine gift at all times to pronounce infallible truth with regard to the highest province of man's life, must lament that our Lord did not at first make this gift really valuable, by designating

¹ Mark xiv. 36.

² John xvii. 21.

³ Gal. ii. 11 ff.

in plain words the bishop of Rome as its bearer for all time.

As a proof of infallibility founded upon fact appeal has been made to the Council of the Apostles, where the resolution was framed in accordance with St. Peter's vote. But although this might very well have been the case without any infallibility, as the members of this preliminary Council were the Apostles and those who are termed the presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem, after long debate St. Peter as one of the Church merely defends his own procedure as justified by Divine testimony, and it is not immediately after his vote, but after the proposal in the direction of smoothing the difficulty, after, in modern language, the amendment of St. James, that the resolution was framed by the Apostles, presbyters, and the whole Church¹.

Accordingly, apart from that Biblical foundation the dogma is relegated to tradition exclusively. As it is not the belief of the Church that an absolutely new dogma was discovered and infallibility bestowed upon the Pope as perhaps a gift direct from heaven by means of the Vatican Council, it was worth inquiring whether the Church has always and in all places believed in this infallibility, whether at least she has acted in accordance with it, and above all whether the bishops of Rome themselves had from ancient times onwards a consciousness of this vast claim, or whether, though unconscious of it (so far as this is conceivable), they ruled the Church by its means. This question, it will be seen, is a purely historical one. For the conclusion is unavoidable: if Pius IX was infallible, all his predecessors in office were the same, and

¹ Acts xv. 6 ff.

all his successors will be so, whatever their destined number may prove to be.

In the *Liber Pontificalis*¹, called after Anastasius, the older part of which was composed in the sixth century, it is told, in accordance with what is at any rate a much older tradition, of Euarestos, who is regarded as fourth bishop of Rome: 'He appointed seven deacons who should keep watch over the bishop's preaching in order that the truth might be delivered².' This is a strange piece of information, and inexplicable for that time. In any case it is widely divergent from belief in the infallibility of the bishop of Rome. Nevertheless in it we hear addressing us from a primitive age what is really a weighty utterance on behalf of the pure conservation of the faith and sacred usages in the Roman Church. Irenaeus, belonging by birth to Asia Minor, and well known in Rome, a kind of grandson of the Church of the Apostles³, referred, in opposition to an esoteric teaching maintained by heretics, to the Church of Rome: 'for with this Church on account of its loftier origin there must be agreement on the part of each Church (i.e. the faithful in all places), in which the tradition, which has its root in the Apostles, has been guarded from those which spring up promiscuously.' The loftier origin is the supposed foundation by the two great Apostles. Add to this that the Roman tradition relating to doctrine and practice, as hereby guaranteed, has been always acknowledged as apostolic by all the faithful, who flocked to the capital from all places in the Roman world. This indeed does not altogether answer to

¹ A work giving lives of the Popes to Nicholas I (d. 867), or in later editions to Stephen VI (885-891).

² See c. 6. [H.]

³ III. 3. 2. [H.]

the truth, nor did it remain uncontradicted. Irenaeus, however, is likely to have been chiefly thinking of that which stamped itself deeply upon the memory of the Church, how a few decades earlier his teacher, the venerated Polycarp, who had eaten in the company of the beloved disciple, when sojourning in Rome, conformed to the Roman use in the celebration of Easter¹. Irenaeus only adduced the Church of Rome and its particular list of bishops down to his own time as the trustworthy upholders of apostolic tradition, inasmuch as the succession of other bishops of apostolic appointment was too lengthy to adduce, and because he, the presbyter, and afterwards bishop, of Lyons, was personally on friendly terms with the See of Rome. That the matter stands thus is attested undesignedly by a saying of Tertullian of altogether similar tendency, and in that treatise in which the foundations of Catholicism are laid down with crushing scorn, directed against everything heretical: 'Well, then, dost thou desire to exercise perverse passions in the matter of thy salvation? Then travel among the apostolic Churches, where the seats from which the Apostles taught hold the places of honour in their respective localities, where their authentic letters are still publicly read, recalling the voice and representing the looks of each. If Greece be nearest to thee, thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi and Thessalonica. If thou canst take shipping for Asia, thou hast Ephesus. Does Italy lie near thee? thou hast Rome, whence our status (in Africa) is

¹ The Christians of Asia Minor celebrated their Paschal festival on the 14th of the Jewish month Nisan (hence the later name Quarto-decimans). The Western Church, on the other hand, disregarded the day of the month in order that the great Resurrection festival might be celebrated on a Sunday.

derived.'¹ Thus the Roman Church is merely put on a par with the other Churches founded by Apostles. She was, however, the only such foundation in the West: not that infallibility was ascribed to her, but the genuine preservation of the apostolic tradition. Nevertheless in two attempts during the second and third centuries to force Roman practices upon other Churches, even where in the course of time the free Roman practice has vindicated its rights, viz. the non-Judaic date for the celebration of Easter as against the Church of Asia Minor, and the validity of heretical baptism as at first against the African Church², the demand of the bishop of Rome was sternly rejected by the local bishops. The Catacombs have preserved a workmanlike wall picture, older perhaps than all this: Christ raises His hand in warning; St. Peter has his hand thoughtfully on his chin. In Rome they succeeded in taking it as a memorial of the prayer for Peter's infallibility; but in the background there sits the cock as a witness to the fallibility of his belief in the Lord.

The seven ecumenical Councils upon which the foundations of ecclesiastical orthodoxy have been established, were held in the East under imperial authority. If in the fourth Council (at Chalcedon) Leo the Great exercised a decisive influence, this took place owing to an unexpected change in the occupant of the throne, and on account of the Pope's personal relations with the empress³; and in the very place where the bishops confessed, 'Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo,' and where Leo had already decided clearly and lucidly, as he writes, with regard to the question of the faith, this decision was not accepted as competent till after

¹ *De praescript. hoer.* c. 36. [H.]

² See p. 220.

³ See p. 223.

an examination of the passage of Scripture involved, and moreover that resolution was framed as to the equality in rank of the patriarch of Constantinople, against which Leo and his successors in vain protested. The decision of Leo in his dogmatic Brief as to the relation of the two Natures in Christ, far from an appeal to individual infallibility, contains a distinct demonstration from passages in the Gospels, as they were then understood. To the high esteem in which this letter was held there became attached in later times the tale that Leo laid it for one night at the tomb of St. Peter, and in the morning found that it had received corrections from the Apostle's own hand. In this indeed there was contained the recognition of a supernaturally attested truth, but also of a *corrected* papal manuscript. In old pictures Gregory the Great is represented with a dove at his ear, the symbol of Divine inspiration. But it is confined to this one Pope who was considered by the generations that followed as prophetically gifted, although from his writings we know him as a credulous and very clever hierarch.

In the religious conflicts as to the mystery of the God-Man, which from the fourth century onwards specially disturbed the Eastern Church, the bishops of Rome, without themselves taking a very enthusiastic share, almost always had the intelligence and the good fortune to take that side which, according to the natural development of dogma, must carry the day, and by this means their reputation and their powers of perception as guardians of the pure faith were much enhanced. Inasmuch as the bishops who spoke the Latin tongue in these contentions, in which most of them had neither special interest nor personal knowledge, in general followed the Pope as the sole bishop of

apostolic institution in the West, it follows that the agreement of Rome with the whole bulk of the Church of the Western Empire was very valuable to the Eastern bishops, and was sought by the party leaders in Greece with adulation and laudation, though not of an infallible person, but still with the recognition that the Church at Rome has never fallen away from the pure apostolical faith. This is all that is involved in the so-called formula of Hormisdas¹ (about 518) formerly recognized by the Greeks, that by means of the succession to St. Peter on the apostolic seat religion has been always kept unsullied. It is given however as an historical fact, not as a dogmatic necessity. The Greek emperor remarked once at the Council of Florence²: 'What one of the Fathers uttered in a complimentary vein in a letter to the Pope must not for this reason be at once inferred to be a right and prerogative.'

The African Church, which according to the formation of the patriarchates, belonged to the territory of Rome, sought to maintain its independence, in forbidding appeals beyond the sea. Yet here too the judgement of the bishop of Rome in matters of faith was highly esteemed, and St. Augustine, in his conflict with a doctrine which he considered heretical, after he had carried its condemnation at two African Synods and obtained the concurrence of the bishop of Rome in the condemnatory judgement, is said to have proclaimed to his opponents in far reaching tones: 'Rome has spoken; the matter is settled';³ although this subject of dispute still remained long unsettled. Yet St.

¹ Pope 514-23. He effected the reunion for the time of the Churches of Rome and of Constantinople.

² See p. 22.

³ *Sermo* 131, c. 10.

Augustine has also defended the memory of St. Cyprian for having formerly withstood the bishop of Rome in the conflict with regard to heretical Baptism, as being a matter not yet decided by a competent Council.

The whole history of the first thousand years of the Church would have been different if there had been in the bishop of Rome a consciousness, and in the Church even a suspicion, that there flowed from it a well of infallible truth. In place of all the bitter disturbing conflicts with real or presumed heretics, against whom books were written and Councils of every kind assembled, all well disposed persons would have appealed to the infallible sentence of the Pope, and the oracle at Rome would have been questioned more than that at Delphi formerly was. On the other hand in those centuries, when all Christianity hinged upon a dogma, it was not an unheard-of thing that even a Pope in the face of the subtle statement of the prevalent dogma should become a heretic. Liberius at a sorry time, when the emperor Constantius brought the Arian Church into power, tired of proscription signed a heterodox confession of faith, and abandoned Athanasius, the sacred martyr to orthodoxy¹, who mentions this with indignation. Vigilius in the presence of the theologian Justinian as emperor (in 547) and at Constantinople within his dominion, at one time consented to the condemnation of two teachers of the Eastern Church in reference to a dogma which was rending the Church², and at another time (in 553), through consideration for the honour of the Council of Chalcedon³, withdrew

¹ After two Synods (Arles 353, and Milan 355) at which Athanasius was condemned, Constantius commanded that all Western bishops should subscribe the condemnation on pain of deposition and banishment.

² The Monophysite heresy. For the teachers here referred to, see p. 34. Vigilius was Pope 538-55.

³ See p. 61.

from this position without ever laying claim to any kind of infallibility. He also rejected the resolution of the fifth ecumenical Council relating to that point, but finally, weary of exile, accepted it (in 554), for, he said, it is no disgrace to perceive and recall a previous error. Western bishops in their rejection of that imperial Council renounced communion with the See of Rome, and even at the commencement of the seventh century the Irish Apostle, Columbanus, exclaimed against a successor of Vigilius¹, playing upon his name, the watcher, 'Watch then, O Pope, and again I say, watch! For that watcher has not watched well, whom those who lay upon you the guilt of this matter call the fountain head of the scandal. For it is to be lamented and deplored if the Catholic faith is not adhered to on the apostolic chair.'²

Honorius I in two public letters (638) accepted a heresy of the emperor³ and his patriarch, that the God-Man has only one will. The intention doubtless was to rise above the controverted formulæ by substituting an improved one, which, considered from a purely human point of view, may appear to us very harmless, but which on the part of the victorious orthodoxy in virtue of its assertion of a Divine and human will, corresponding to the Divine and human nature of Christ, was attacked, as destructive of all Christianity, with an indignation which knew no limits. The sixth ecumenical Council (681) expelled the dead Pope from communion, as one who with the help of the serpent disseminated evil heresy. His successors concurred. The seventh and eighth ecumenical Councils⁴ repeated the imprecation upon the heretical Pope.

¹ Boniface IV, Pope 607-15.

² *Epist. ad Bonif. IV.* [H.]

³ Heraclius (610-41).

⁴ Nicaea, 787, and Constantinople, 869.

This condemnation actually came into the confession of faith, to which every bishop of Rome down to the eleventh century had to swear.

This mishap of Honorius fell so crushingly upon the belief in an infallible Pope that, as soon as men's thoughts turned in that direction, there were also attempts made to remove this stumblingblock. In accordance with the time-honoured clumsy theory of falsification, which not without just cause comes to the rescue against so many fictions of the Popes, but also is employed in the case of every fact that proves obstinate, Baronius¹ declared the acts of the sixth Council, and Bellarmine² the letters of Honorius, to be early forgeries. The genuineness of these documents, as existing to a large extent contemporaneously in both the classical languages of the Church, and re-echoed in so many ways, rests on grounds as secure as those of any record whatever of antiquity. Therefore others desired to surrender Honorius as a man, while they vindicated him as Pope on the plea that his erroneous teaching was given only as a *doctor privatus*. But he did this in a written communication to his colleagues in Constantinople. He exhorted them to hold this teaching fast as a Church dogma; and in his person it was the action of the whole Church. It was for this reason that the ecumenical Council found him guilty of having disseminated erroneous teaching through his writings with the help of his official authority. Professor von Hefele, in his *History of the Councils*³, came to the conclusion that Honorius from timorous anxiety for the maintenance of peace, from subservience to the

¹ See p. 79.

² See p. 11.

³ Bk. III. pp. 145 ff. Karl Joseph von Hefele, bp. of Rottenburg and professor of ecclesiastical history at Tübingen; d. 1893. His chief work is the *History of Church Councils*, above named.

Imperial Court, and from lack of clearness in perception, 'rejected, though orthodox at heart, the accurate expression for the orthodox doctrine, and thereby bestowed upon heresy no inconsiderable impetus.' The bishop of Rottenburg in his treatise on the Council, apart from the question whether Honorius had heterodox views as well at heart, has in accordance with the aim of that work established, from the original materials to his hand, simply in the fashion of a mathematical demonstration and in the face of all subterfuges; that Honorius set forth in writing *ex cathedra* an heretical form of dogma; that an ecumenical Council condemned him on that account as a heretic; and that his condemnation was recognized as legitimate by his contemporaries and even by his successors. The historian did not think it necessary to draw the conclusion, since it was obvious. It remained only for the naïf shamelessness of the Roman Jesuits' journal further to assever that Honorius was only held responsible for this, that he had not more strongly withstood the heretical sense according to the rights and duty of his office, and that therefore his misfortune rather bore testimony to the recognition on the part of the Church of the Pope's infallibility.

When the Papacy by means of historical facts as well as historical fictions attained in the Middle Ages to a world-wide rule, the Councils, readily convened by the Popes, whether consisting only of the prelates actually perhaps present in Rome for Lent, or brought together by summons addressed to the whole Church, could not in their dependent conditions pass for organs of ecclesiastical infallibility, which accordingly devolved in fact upon the Pope. Gregory VII, however, merely asserted it in this indefinite form, that the Roman

Church never has erred nor will err. As for the *Pope* he himself, by the very claiming of an unqualified authority for his pronouncements, excluded their infallibility, forasmuch as he reserves to himself alone the right of amending them. On the other hand by virtue of the merits of St. Peter he claimed a spiritual gift of holiness, which, considered perhaps as a ground of infallibility, just as sin and intellectual darkness are connected, yet could not be maintained in the face of all the ungodly Popes who preceded and followed him. Innocent III¹, the most powerful of all Popes, who dictated his seventy Canons to the great Lateran Council² (fourth of the name), nevertheless admitted that he, though otherwise responsible to God alone, could sin against the faith, and thus err in the most grievous sense, and in that case become subject to the jurisdiction of the Church. It is a conception of the early Church, attaching itself to the fate of Honorius, admitted also to the Canon law, and originally alluding to the belief in the Pope's exemption by virtue of his rank from every other jurisdiction; like the mediaeval view of the emperor's majesty, that he could only be excommunicated for three causes, viz. if he put away his wife, burned down a church, or offended against the faith. Thus there is a presumption of the possibility of such offences. It was in this spirit that Innocent IV³ required obedience to the Pope's commands, except in case the command involved a heresy, since the person obeying would then sin, inasmuch as one is bound to check and not to promote impending evil.

The advocates of infallibility appeal to the ecumenical Council of Lyons, adding that, so far as this point is concerned, it was recognized even by the Greeks. In his

¹ See p. 115.

² In 1215.

³ Pope 1243-54.

political embarrassment the emperor Michael Palaeologus¹ had conceded to Clement IV² that disputes concerning the faith should be decided by the judgement of the Pope. This was read out in the emperor's communication at the second Council of Lyons (1274), but was not acknowledged by the Eastern bishops, and at home was declared null and void by the emperor himself. With more of permanence Thomas Aquinas³, deceived by the fabrication of Greek evidence, recognized St. Peter, upon whom Christ had, according to him, poured out all His fullness, as the teacher of the whole world, and living on in his successors. This therefore was a new version of a Confession of faith, containing not a new, but a more fully developed belief, viz. the sole right of the Pope. In this lies, though still unexpressed, the assumption of a constant infallibility.

When Boniface VIII⁴ announced that every creature on pain of the loss of eternal salvation must obey the Pope, the infallibility of his sentences formed his logical basis. He also stated it expressly: yet at the close of the thirteenth century it was still so alien to the popular faith that among the complaints, by means of which king Philip the Fair overthrew the moral credit of this Pope in the face of the French Estates of the realm, this also stood: 'Boniface must have a family devil, since he lays claim to being infallible, a thing which is impossible without sorcery.' When John XXII⁵ desired to render his assertion, that the Apostles had not lived in absolute poverty, credible to the disciples of St. Francis by declaring the alleged seizure of their property by his predecessors to be a delusion, the

¹ He had brought to an end a Latin Empire existing at Constantinople 1204-61, thus restoring the Byzantine Empire.

² Pope 1265-8.

³ See p. 230.

⁴ See p. 77.

⁵ Pope 1316-34.

chiefs of the Order taxed him with heretical errors. Further, his strange teaching as to the fate of those destined for bliss, that before the Resurrection they have not attained to the vision of God, stirred up the University of Paris with all the monastic learning against him; the King of France threatened to have him burnt as a heretic, and his memory was only saved from the imputation of heresy through the publication by his successor of a recantation of all that he might have taught in opposition to the Catholic faith, as put forth by him on his death-bed. It was first with regard to power over legal processes that something like infallibility took shape in the consciousness of the Popes. That unhappy Boniface conceived that he possessed all rights within the shrine of his breast, yet reserving the power to exchange his own earlier decision for a new one. Paul II¹ smote upon his breast as the source of all rights, as against a demand founded on clear documentary evidence on the part of Platina², who, as historian of the Popes, had it in his power richly to repay the assumption. This shrine of all rights became proverbial. Moreover, the formula usual in the Popes' decrees since the time of their sojourn in France³ answers to it, *non obstante quocunque*, so that even that should hold good which is opposed to hitherto existing rights. When closely examined, however, this creative source of rights did not correspond to the Catholic consciousness, which, at least in matters of faith, desired to rest only upon Holy Scripture and tradition, although in default of these it readily fell back upon Divine inspiration.

¹ Pope 1464-71.

² Bartholomew Sacchi of Platina (now Piadena) in the Cremona district. After a chequered life at Rome he was made by Sixtus IV librarian to the Vatican; d. 1481.

³ 1305-77.

The accusation brought against Hus in Constance¹ was not on account of his teaching that the desire for gain led the Pope into delusions, and that from ignorance he allowed himself to be deluded. An assembly which brought one guilt-laden Pope before its bar, disestablished two Popes and established a new one, stood *de jure* and *de facto* above the Poppedom. It belongs, as a Catholic historian jestingly says, to the mysteries of the Roman Curia that it neither recognizes nor overthrows the resolution of Constance as to the supremacy of an ecumenical Council over every ecclesiastical dignity, even that of the Pope. It does not recognize it, for it sets up a power superior to the Papacy. It does not overthrow it, for by virtue of this resolution Martin V was elected at Constance. Upon the legitimacy of this election and of the cardinals named by this Pope, rests the legitimacy of the whole papal elective dynasty since that date. Yet Romish craft thought that it had found a way of escape: that resolution, it said, holds good only for a time, while there is no Pope regularly accepted. But if there is always involved here the recognition of a higher power, which can on any occasion replace the Papacy, the resolution also expressly presupposes the future existence of one bearing the papal dignity. It continued to hold good after the election of the Council's Pope. It was solemnly maintained by the subsequent Council at Basel², even at the time when this had delegates sent to it and was recognized by Eugenius IV. This resolution was accepted by the German Diet, conceded by Eugenius himself as by his

¹ See p. 4. John XXIII was tried, deposed, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were disestablished, and Martin V made Pope.

² See p. 19.

successor to the German nation, by which it was never subsequently formally surrendered. Archbishop Nicolaus of Palermo (Panormitanus), who was an influential supporter of conservative interests at Basel, nevertheless taught thus: 'In matters of faith the Council is above the Pope. Meanwhile I believe that, if the Pope had good reasons and better authorities on his side than the Council, his decision would have to be followed. For a Council also can err, and in matters of faith even the decision of a private individual would be preferable to the decision of the Pope, if the former had on his side better support from the Old and New Testament.' Still borne in the current of those two Councils which grasped at the paramount authority over the Church, another supporter of the Papacy, John de Turrecremata¹, drew a distinction between the apostolic See, on the one hand, as the ideally apprehended Papacy with the prerogative of freedom from error, and on the other, the person of the Pope for the time being. Thus he arrived at the admission: 'If it may happen that all the Fathers at the ecumenical Council should unanimously frame a definition concerning the faith, which the individual Pope alone opposed, I should judge that the Council is to be obeyed, not the Pope; for the Council is greater than the Pope.' And if God should permit that a Pope may at some time err, yet the same does not happen to all his successors. Therefore the next one may correct the bad decision of his predecessor. If in this connexion we take the judgement of St. Antoninus upon the subject of infallibility (see p. 37), it appears

¹ A Dominican who in 1437 published a treatise combating the Franciscan view of the Immaculate Conception, which was also the view taken by the Popes of the time.

that at the close of the Middle Ages this fundamental belief of Catholicism was certainly recognized, yet only in general terms, as St. Thomas Aquinas had expressed it ; but, in respect of the matter of chief moment, there was still a fluctuation in men's judgement as to the mouth by which this infallibility speaks, whether Pope or Council, or a vague universal consent on the part of the Church.

Leo X¹ had before this declared all papal Bulls to be infallible, and Cajetan² on the occasion of many a transgression of Church tradition was yet ready to admit the infallibility of the Pope, for which he is thought to have received the cardinal's hat. But Adrian VI³, who cursed Luther, and yet earnestly desired a reformation of the corruptions in the Church, had given it as his judgement in his scholastic Commentary: 'If under the Roman Church is understood its head, the Pope, it is certain that he can err, even in that which relates to the faith'; and as Pope he altered this condition of things as little as his baptismal name.

The infallible Pope was sometimes invoked against Luther, but what startled the faithful was his avowal that he could no longer have belief in the Councils either. It was only as a consequence of the Reformation that there came into being a definite polemical consciousness of what was aimed at in maintaining the personal infallibility of the Pope. This became forthwith the dogma of the Jesuits, as Lainez⁴ presented it to the Council of Trent, that Christ bestowed upon St. Peter the prerogative of infallibility in judging concerning faith, morals, religion as a whole, and that the

¹ Giovanni de' Medici, Pope 1513-21.

² An Italian cardinal and scholar, who summoned Luther before his tribunal. He was papal legate at Augsburg in 1518; d. 1534.

³ Pope 1522-3.

⁴ See p. 40.

sole reason why the Church cannot err is because her head is infallible. With less easy faith Bellarmine distinguished between the Pope as universal teacher for the whole Church and as a private teacher. The latter can err even in matters of faith. Nevertheless it is to be assumed as probable and as a pious belief that Providence will not permit this; but that a Pope as such can be, and can have been, a heretic he mentions only as an isolated yet still an undeniably Catholic view. He even concedes that it is permissible to withstand the Pope, if he perplexes men's souls or disorders the State, or goes so far as to menace the Church, yet with a fine distinction, viz. that this is to be done not to punish him judicially, but as an act of self-defence; and it is not unknown how forcibly and cunningly the Jesuits have used this right of opposition in Asia. This conception, a Pope-heretic, still lay as a dark shadow upon the memory of the Church. Romish theology, on the other hand, came to its own rescue with the assumption that the Pope would by means of public heresy automatically cease to be Pope, or with some other sophistical evasion.

But when such limitations were laid down there also presented itself, in opposition to the belief in the Pope's infallibility, the undeniable character of their human limitations, and of their oftentimes so deplorable individuality. When the French ambassador complained of a hasty expression of Pio Nono, and Antonelli soothingly replied that the words of so aged a man must not be too nicely weighed, or when the Florentine ambassador reported with regard to Alexander VII¹, what would, however, have been more in keeping with Alexander VI², that not a single word of truth came

¹ Pope 1655-67.

² Roderigo Borgia, Pope 1492-1503. See p. 18.

from his mouth, this was still quite compatible with his official infallibility, so far as it was not himself but the Holy Spirit who was speaking through him. Nevertheless it must have proved difficult for the ordinary understanding to achieve this abstract distinction. When one acquainted with history remembers those vicious Popes, who were elected through the favour of depraved women in the tenth century—such as that boy, Benedict IX¹, who, raised by his family to the sacred seat, ‘disgraced it by crimes which as a rule are unknown to that period of life,’ sold it, and then desired still to remain Pope—it is yet more difficult for him to consider these Popes, and those who resembled them, to be, in their official position, which they abused simply for the sake of their lusts and misdeeds, infallible organs of the Holy Spirit. When, owing to their criminality in the eleventh century², and then again in the fourteenth century, two or three Popes were pitted against one another with pretty well equal claims, each cursing the other and his adherents, how should impartial history precisely determine the distribution of infallibility?

In frank opposition to papal infallibility the episcopal system, towards which France had preserved an ancient leaning, was set forth officially in the four propositions of the French clergy of 1682 as Gallicanism, which saw in the limitations of the Papacy security for a French national Church. It arose, how-

¹ He obtained the Poppedom in 1033 by simony at twelve years of age, and on account of the opposition aroused by his profligacy resigned in 1044.

² Benedict X in 1058 was set up as an Antipope to Stephen IX. In the fourteenth century Nicholas V was Antipope in opposition to John XXII, and later Urban VI and Clement VII were rivals; later still (1394) Benedict (called XIII) was set up as Antipope at Avignon. See also pp. 19, 236, and 269.

ever, in the interests of a king¹, who was wont to say 'I am the State!' as the Pope was disposed to think 'I am the Church!' Accordingly those 'liberties' of the Gallican Church might also have been termed their 'compulsions'. The four propositions, ostensibly withdrawn at the king's command by the French prelates, after he had attained his object against the Pope, had nevertheless been publicly maintained, now by the government, now by the learned, and Napoleon I had refused all requests of Pius VII² for their abandonment. Bossuet³, who framed and defended them, and who also was the honoured spokesman of Catholicism at Rome, never acknowledged the infallibility of the Pope, although he was willing to acquiesce in it as a frail staff and a pleasant dream, seeing that it was of course a thing to be wished that the Pope, as the shepherd of so large a flock, should not merely be without error but also without sin; secure against ignorance and negligence, and free from passions. Though the clergy of France as restored seemed to have given up the propositions embodying the liberty of the national Church, yet they were consciously retained as claims on the part of the French people; and Montalembert⁴, who had called them dead in the sense of State support, when dying predicted their resurrection to free the Church in opposition to the idol that was setting itself up in the Vatican.

Memories of the Reformation for a long time led Rome to enforce the pretence of infallibility with prudent reservation. When an old dispute of ecclesiastical theology, which had been aroused afresh by the conflicts of the Reformation, as to the measure of aid

¹ Louis XIV.

² See p. 118.

³ See p. 243.

⁴ See p. 105.

given by the grace of God in the conversion of the sinner, had broken out into a violent contest between the Dominicans¹ and Jesuits, both Orders appealed to the Pope and demanded his decision. Clement VIII, in place of giving this by virtue of his infallibility, appointed (in 1597) a congregation of prelates and learned men before whom both parties could set forth their reasons in as long-winded a manner as they chose. Paul V at last (in 1611) dismissed the congregation, promised the decision at a suitable time, and enjoined upon both parties perpetual silence as to this subject of contention. That decision would have wounded a powerful Order, which might have ventured to charge the Pope himself with heresy, when, however, this contention broke out again on deeper grounds. An earnest-minded and intellectual party in the French Church, called after one of their founders Jansenists², maintaining the unconditional character of the Divine grace, and in view of a reform within the Catholic Church laying stress upon pious contemplation and strictness of practice, Innocent X allowed himself to be determined by the Jesuits to condemn five passages out of the main treatise of Jansen, which were certainly taught in like manner by Luther and Calvin, and by the Apostle Paul and St. Augustine as well. The party, obliged to choose between an open rebellion against the Pope, and the escaping from a retractation of their convictions, rejoined that the five passages had not been taught by their late leader in the sense in which the Pope had condemned them. Shifts of this kind were at that time customary in the conflicts between the French Parliament and the crown. The truth of the matter was

¹ St. Dominic, founder of the Order, was a Spaniard; d. in Italy in 1221.

² See p. 149.

that Jansen had not deduced from those passages the same searching conclusions as had Luther and Calvin. Alexander VII¹ affirmed that his predecessor had condemned the five passages in the sense intended by Jansen. The Jansenists objected that this was not a question concerning the faith, but a purely historical question of fact (*question du fait*), about which the Church cannot decide with any higher authority than can learning. Thus they became involved in the main subject of dispute, whether the Papacy is infallible also in its judgement as to historical facts; and whether in reference to the papal decisions a respectful silence is sufficient, which peaceably disposed Jansenists desired to observe, or whether internal agreement is demanded, as the Pope and Jesuits required, though in other matters Catholicism so readily contented itself with the external. This dispute was never decided. Jansenism however at length was suppressed, owing to the king's authority being adverse and the austerity of its belief and practice being alien to the existing culture; but the French people had seen the most pious of its priests ill-treated by the Pope and the Jesuits, and the books from which it had been edified condemned by them. At that time the wind was sown for the whirlwind which soon afterwards overthrew the Jesuits, and in the first French revolution desolated the house of the Pope.

Also the self-consciousness as well as the humility of a Pope might involuntarily deny the infallibility of the Papacy. Urban VIII², when confronted with an objection taken from the Decretals of his predecessors, replied: 'The decision of one living Pope is worth more than that of a hundred dead ones.' Benedict XIV³ laughingly said: 'If it is true that all justice

¹ Pope 1655-67.

² Pope 1623-44.

³ See p. 100.

and all truth lie hidden in the shrine of my breast, yet I have never been able to find the key of it.' So extinct had the belief in this infallibility become in the nineteenth century, that a man, otherwise not ill informed, regarded it as a Protestant calumny that Catholics considered the Pope infallible¹. When the re-established Jesuits again undertook the patronage of this belief, it still counted only for a pious opinion which a good Catholic was not compelled to accept. With what modesty and almost bashfulness did the theologian of Bonn², who in the contest between the archbishop of Cologne and the crown of Prussia alone enjoyed the Pope's confidence, express his mere wish for the Pope's infallibility! Möhler presented it incidentally in the form of a disclaimer: 'This incapability of error appertains to no individual as such,' only as aiming at the presumed reconciliation of the papal and episcopal systems so as 'to declare that the dogmatic definitions of the Episcopate in conjunction with that which is the centre of the whole cannot be misled.' The old dispute whether the Pope is superior or inferior to a general Council is thus at once exploded as a defective abstraction, for this reason that such a Council, like the Church itself, resembles a human body; the Pope its head necessarily one with the Church, the Council without him a dead trunk. But in accordance with the humbling yet just claims of such a comparison, the head apart from the trunk would possess no power of thought, least of all an infallible one. Everywhere that Pope and Council are at variance, or where an heretical Pope, or one merely acting in an un-popelike manner, or rival Popes, such as it is always possible might arise from

¹ Klee, *Dog.*, Bk. I, p. 210. [H.] ² Cp. Gladstone, *Vaticanism*, p. 113 f. [H.]

biased and discordant elections, demand the paramount authority of a Council, a decision as to its jurisdiction cannot be avoided, and that jurisdiction cannot await the concurrence of a new Pope, who only comes into being by means of the Council. All the ingenious and controverted judgements with regard to the decisions at Constance and Basel on this subject, testify only to the uncertainty and division of the Catholic world upon this question which lies at its base.

In Rome itself and in Italy the infallibility of the Pope is perhaps at least believed, but it is only *wished* that the nations on the other side of the Alps might believe it; and it was taught to be the due of the primacy that, in the case of divisions among the bishops, the Church is only where the Pope is, or, to put it yet more plainly, that the bishops are bound invariably to follow the decisions of the Pope. Pius IX, by nature a pious layman, familiar with the Bible in the way of edifying and often appropriate application, but altogether without theological training, had allowed himself to be persuaded by his Jesuit advisers, who hoped by means of a Pope recognized as infallible to become for their part also infallible, that the infallibility of the Divine Viceroy is a recognized thing; that for centuries no sincerely minded Catholic has gainsaid it; that all that remains to be done is to cause it to be established for ever as a dogma by an ecumenical Council. To this end it was of importance to bring to bear popular feeling, thoughtless, mute, and yet fanatical, as it comes into being by means of the subjugation of people's minds under the unqualified power of one man. By way of quiet preparation leading questions were laid before the Synods of individual sees and provinces, and they were answered after the

fashion of the resolution of Cologne. The Catechism of the Jesuit Deharbe, which in later editions virtually bestows upon the Pope infallibility in his ecclesiastical office of teacher, was disseminated, and a brotherhood was instituted, based upon the vow of a pious belief in this infallibility. The Pope had already¹ promulgated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which logically involves, in enjoining belief in it on pain of the loss of eternal salvation, a supernatural knowledge. Thus the written inquiries addressed to the bishops had more the aspect of an act of mere politeness. Also books and theological systems had in many cases in Rome been condemned in the name of the Pope; the phrase of Augustine² had been invoked against antagonistic authors—*Roma locuta, causa finita est*—and they had then, as Catholic piety requires, submitted themselves to such a sentence. A truly religious man, however, can sacrifice his religious convictions, even those founded upon human learning, only to the Divinely infallible voice.

When Pius IX announced on July 26, 1867, to the bishops assembled at the centenary festival of St. Peter at Rome his intention of summoning an ecumenical Council, in the expectation that thereby the Church would live to see its most glorious triumph, while converting its foes, and spreading far and wide over the earth the kingdom of Christ, thereupon about five hundred bishops gathered round his throne made answer thus: That their hearts were bursting with joy; that the Council, by the grace of God and through the intercessions of the Immaculate Virgin, would prove a marvellous source of unity, sanctity, and peace. The Pope then announced this as answering to the long cherished desire of his heart, viz. that he

¹ In 1854.

² See p. 261.

places the Council under the protection of Him, Who from the beginning bruised the serpent's head, and has alone brought all heresies to nought. The bishops also assured the Pope that they believe what he believes, think as he thinks, teach as he teaches, repudiate what he repudiates, and deviate not a hair's breadth from that which he prescribes. The *Civiltà Cattolica* exhorted that besides fortune and blood a third offering should be brought to the Pope, viz. the intellect (*sacrificio del intelletto*). Clergy and laity were bidden to lay upon the altar of St. Peter's the vow to believe in the infallibility of the Pope, yea, even to lay down their lives for it. The general assembly of Catholics at Bamberg in 1867 passed a resolution to the effect that from June 29 of this year (the date of the Bull summoning the Council) would count a new epoch of the world's history: 'Either the salvation of the world will result from the Council, or the world is beyond the reach of salvation.' The *Voices from Maria-Laach*, as the German counterpart of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, declared: 'The teachers of the Catholic Church maintain throughout that already infallibility in the office of teaching appertains to the Pope alone, and as an attribute of his person, and those who unreasonably deny that this holds good must, at all events, grant infallibility to the Pope when surrounded by his bishops.'

Considering the admitted willingness of the bishops, a speedy recognition of this infallibility might be hoped for, so that, inasmuch as all the other contemplated decrees were also already formulated in the preceding Committees, the Council would only require a few weeks. But a considerable opposition, consisting mostly of independent bishops who were backed up by large

dioceses containing educated people, soon came to be noted; but not a liberal opposition held together by freedom of thought. This could appear at such a time among bishops, considering the conditions of their appointment, only as by an oversight and in quite isolated cases. It was, on the contrary, because of the perception that the personal infallibility of the Pope is based neither upon the Scripture nor upon ancient universal tradition that these prelates showed their repugnance, by the surrender of their own highest rights, to subject themselves unconditionally to the caprice of an individual man's limitations and a Jesuit camarilla¹, and so permanently to estrange existing education from the Church. This mood was already expressed in Germany, and promoted by reflections proceeding from Munich, which clearly bore the stamp of Döllinger's style and learning. Still more decidedly was this done by *Janus*², with his wrathful gaze directed in both directions, the past and the future. In contrast to the accustomed Catholic history of the Popes, and yet with a Catholic hand, he proved how the Papacy, from the ninth century onwards, had attained the height of its pretensions by a succession of forgeries, and what a destructive influence those pretensions have exercised. The (titular) bishop Maret, dean of the theological faculty at Paris, carried out this historical proof in a milder form for the infallibility of Papacy in combination with a Council, while Manning³, the archbishop of Westminster, who had come to be at ease in Rome, Dechamps, archbishop of

¹ A Spanish word, meaning a clique of irregular advisers.

² Döllinger's pseudonym. For him see p. 62.

³ Edward Henry Manning seceded to Rome in 1851, in 1865 succeeded Cardinal Wiseman as archbishop of Westminster, and was created Cardinal in 1875.

Mechlin, and Fessler, bishop of St. Pölten, already contended for the infallibility of the Pope. The last named obtained by that means the position of a general secretary to the Council. Manning asserted that 'the Council of Trent fixed the date after which Protestantism ceased to spread; the impending general Council will determine the date of its death'.

A hasty resolution by acclamation, held under these circumstances to be the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, was no longer to be risked in the face of the antagonistic voices. A proposition on the part of the Pope himself seemed also hardly becoming. Accordingly the eagerness for that dogma in the Vatican at first dissembles itself, and from prudence or timidity a sketch of the Catholic faith in broad outline—a kind of introduction to dogmatics—was laid before the general Congregation for their first business; statements directed against atheism, pantheism, and rationalism, which for a believer in the supernatural are taken for granted, along with some more Catholic articles, which, however, in their ultimate shape are already given in the resolutions of Trent. There was nothing of that which at the time stirred hearts or even the seats of learning. These were dealt with for the space of four months, with some interruptions concerning matters which came to no settlement. So many concessions were made to the opposition (small as their minority was), where they found anything suspicious, that the thought readily presented itself: 'This long patience has for its chief aim to bring about a unanimous resolution, by means of which the competency of this ecumenical Council shall be solemnly recognized.'

At length, through impatience or by order, an

address is presented to the Holy Father, requesting him to take the necessary steps to raise his infallibility to the status of a dogma by means of the Council. This communication, in the first half of January, 1870, contained over four hundred signatures of the prelates present, and betokened henceforth the firmly rooted position of the majority. Döllinger, now coming forward publicly, put out on the other hand, in the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung*, 'some remarks,' designating this enterprise a revolution, by which an idea hitherto voluntarily held, and often objected to, was to be made an article of faith for one hundred and eighty million Catholics on pain of their souls losing eternal salvation. While the believer has hitherto said, 'I believe this or that doctrine on the testimony of the Church of all times,' he must then for the future say, 'I believe, because the Pope, declared to be infallible, directs that it be taught and believed. But that he is infallible I believe, because he asserts it of himself.' Then further it is shown how frail a support this idea finds in history; and if the address declares the new article of faith to be seasonable, nay necessary, simply because some persons who gave themselves out as Catholics had worked the oracle, this has plainly emanated from the Jesuits and those associated with them, to proclaim this article of faith as still lacking to an expectant world. Has it not, then, become the duty of those whose convictions are otherwise, with respectful silence to leave these makers of dogmas to answer for them? Numerous expressions of approval, especially from the learned in Catholic universities, testified that Döllinger had expressed the sentiments of the higher education of his country, and the city of Munich offered him their

honorary citizenship. In Rome another address adjured the Pope to stand aside from this whole business, saying that, after the shackles imposed by Florence and Trent, it is not advisable to lay something greater upon the nations, and that the Catholic heart draws back with a shudder at the prospect of a discussion of the difficulties which present themselves in this connexion. This address, however, only received one hundred and thirty-seven signatures, but these were of bishops who were reckoned as representing eighty millions of Catholics. The Pope, to show his unfailing impartiality on the occasion, referred both addresses to the committee, which dealt with questions concerning the faith.

A list of agenda on the subject of the Church was presented to the Council, and contained in clear form a large portion of the most dubious of the statements of the Syllabus of 1864, also a Canon as to the ordinary direct power exercised by the Pope over the Church and all individual churches, but as yet nothing as to his infallibility. The conflict of the two parties, as far as the Council hall was concerned, as yet breaking out only in the shape of isolated snapshots, surged hither and thither outside St. Peter's, the defence as regards writings deriving its chief strength from the *Civiltà*, which in its literary notices found everything written on behalf of the papal rule splendid, everything on the other side miserable. The writings of the opposition, next after the Honorius question, viz. a very measured one by Cardinal Rauscher, the Prince-bishop of Vienna, and one more sharply incisive, communicated by the Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, archbishop of Prague, and passing for his work, were obliged, owing to the Roman censorship, to be printed at Naples.

It might be thought that the Pope, on account of the ecclesiastical opposition as well as political warnings, would have dropped the dogma of his infallibility. He deemed, however, that his conscience forbade him to leave the people of God longer in a state of uncertainty and unrest upon a matter of such weighty importance. His life's task has at all times been to calm excited feelings, to confirm the wavering, to draw over opponents, and to strengthen the authority of his successors in the same degree as that in which the assaults upon the Church multiplied. On March 6 the proposal as to the Papacy was laid before the bishops, taking at that time the form of the insertion of an eleventh section in the formal statement concerning the Church, with a fixed time, according to the new arrangement of business, for delivering any criticisms in writing; and these were delivered in great abundance. Nevertheless the proceedings as to the formal statement concerning the faith were advanced in many directions, and after the first results of the Council had been here attained, as was announced in the third public session on the Sunday after Easter, a previously adjourned debate on the Catechism was resumed. In place of the large diversity of Catechisms which had existed up to this time in the various countries and dioceses it was approved that there should be introduced one Roman Catechism of a popular kind, framed by a committee to be nominated by the Pope for the whole Church, but in the various languages needed. The forcible counter-argument was the discrepancy as to education in the various episcopal dioceses. But the Pope's proposal was to be taken in close connexion with the object which floated over the Council, viz. that the Catechism

issuing from Rome should infuse the new dogma like the mother's milk of the Church into the hearts of the children.

Finally, and in spite of the expressed desire of the opposition as well as of the French Government for adjournment, the statement concerning the Papacy was again submitted to the general Congregation on May 10, remodelled by the committee on questions concerning the faith on the basis of the bishops' memorials, and now appearing as the first dogmatic *Constitutio* of the Church of Christ under four sections. The first three, dealing with the primacy of the Pope, regarded his ecclesiastical power altogether in the spirit of the claims made in the Middle Ages and founded upon the Isidorian forgeries, thus culminating in the breaking up of all episcopal independence. There were appended three Canons, cursing those who thought otherwise. The fourth section dealt with the infallibility of the Pope. The discussion of this proposal began on May 13. At first it was a general one, but inasmuch as few of the speakers who had entered their names could reckon upon its being open to them to address the Council again on the individual sections, the opposition threw itself at once upon the infallibility.

Its advocates appealed to our Lord's words to St. Peter as given in Holy Scripture, as well as to the avowal of the Councils of Lyons and Florence. The opposing facts of history were circumvented in the traditional fashion, or they availed themselves of the excuse that historical facts must give way before the clearness and certainty of doctrine. In fact the chief weight was assigned to a proof which might have been called rationalistic, to the effect that, if

the Holy Father is Christ's representative upon earth, he must also share in His infallibility in order thus, as an ever present organ of Divine truth (which an ecumenical Council as only assembling for a time cannot be), to guarantee the absolutely secure preservation and seasonable unfolding of the deposited treasure of Divine revelation, in which the essential peculiarity of Catholicism consists. In bringing this to be generally recognized, especially at this time, when all authority is tottering, lies the rescue of social conditions, and, as regards temporal matters, the salvation of the world, while it hereby learns humility and submission. This great act of deliverance will diffuse itself through the world, imparting fresh energies to life. But now, after this truth has been so hotly attacked, not to raise it to a dogma would be equivalent to the abandonment of it for ever to its foes as baseless. A supreme judge, from whose sentence no further appeal exists, belongs to every civilized and legally constituted order of things. Where it is to hold good for the inward submission of the heart and in the matters relating to our eternal salvation, this judge must be infallible as the voice of God. Moreover, the infallibility of the Pope is already, properly speaking, a doctrine of the Church which cannot be denied without coming very near to heresy. Alongside of this there were many curious forms of advocacy reported: how Bishop Pie of Poitiers seems to have appealed to the story that St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards. The head bore in that case the weight of the whole body; so, he said, the Pope as head bears that of the collective Church. Again, a Sicilian bishop startled the Council with the information that the people of his country

had formerly not been quite willing to believe, as regards St. Peter himself, that our Lord had imparted to him and his successors so great a privilege; that they had accordingly applied to the Holy Virgin by means of a deputation as to whether she knew anything of it, and that she, being also independently of this, as is well known, on familiar terms with the people of Sicily, replied that she certainly remembered to have been present when her Son imparted this prerogative to St. Peter. It was not only as the Pope's boarders¹ that apostolic vicars among uncivilized nations appeared specially disposed towards the new doctrine. They also remarked with what a convenient and abbreviated form the new doctrine furnishes them to meet the needs of negroes and Kafirs! Up till now (they said) we had to instruct them as to the Church, of the nature and authority of which it was only with much labour that a dim conception was produced. Now we say to them that God gives everything to a man in Rome, from whom all the others have it. This is brief, simple, and intelligible even to a child.

Opponents rejoined that the passage about prayer for St. Peter's faith² has never been interpreted as referring to his and his successors' infallibility by any of the leading Fathers of the Church. Therefore this meaning, untrue in itself, is opposed to the ecclesiastical interpretation of Scripture. By virtue of the historical circumstances adduced above, and others kindred to them, it was shown that there is nothing less true than that an ancient and universal tradition speaks on behalf of the Pope's infallibility. Its testimony is to the contrary effect. Accordingly, unsupported by Scripture and tradition it would be merely a doctrine, the pro-

¹ See p. 52.

² Luke xxii. 32.

duct of imagination and convenient to some, but in antagonism with undeniable facts of history. So alien is this teaching (they pointed out) to many parts of the Church that in England, before Parliament achieved Catholic emancipation, many Irish bishops answered in the negative the question whether the Pope had the power without the concurrence of the Church to lay down for other nations definitions concerning faith and morals ; therefore, if now the opposite was set forth as the teaching of the Church, the bishops of those countries would appear dishonourable. So new would this dogma appear to the people who were unprepared for it in many dioceses, that perplexities concerning the Church, defection, and discord were to be apprehended. Henceforward, instead of the Apostles' Creed the Catholic confession would run 'I believe in the Pope'. If the world had need of an authority, that would nevertheless be least attained by putting forward simply on forged testimony a man with his weaknesses and his passions as an infallible authority. How should it be desired, at a time when the whole educated world feels the need of controlling force by means of law, to set up a spiritual force, which through its infallibility is unlimited ? If Pius IX is to be looked upon as infallible, then so are all preceding Popes. The limitation which is adduced, 'only in what is proclaimed for the whole Church,' is illogical and insufficient. According to the custom of Roman law the Popes of the first thousand years published their decrees to definite persons or authorities, although those decrees, in view of their character and in many cases also of their effect, were directed to the whole Church : thus evidently none of these Popes was aware of the provision by which, in virtue of a slight change in the address, they

could change their human deeds into infallible Divine ones. But even if we grant those necessary limitations, so that the infallibility of the Popes as actually practised first came into view in the second millenary of its existence, we maintain that there was still always quite enough left for Catholics to believe and to practise. The Bull of Boniface VIII¹ *Unam sanctam*, merely the conspectus of the papal claims asserted from the times of Gregory VII², and only revoked for France by Clement V³ owing to special favour or necessity, subjects all secular authority, to be exercised at the beck of the priest, to the Pope, so that he can remove disobedient Princes, absolve nations from the oath of fealty, and annul laws that are antagonistic to the Church. Therefore the resumption of such a papal claim, even though only a threatening probability, would necessarily meet with the opposition of the authorities of a State, and lead to serious entanglements for the Church itself. What, moreover, about the Bulls which, in their ignorance of the laws of commerce, condemn all taking of interest as heresy? or the Bulls in support of the ferocious procedure of the Inquisition and the burning of witches, in their connexion with the belief in the power of the devil? Do they really intend to talk educated people into considering these to emanate from an infallible mouth, and to remain an immutable right in harmony with justice? In the matter of jurisdiction there must certainly exist a supreme judge; but in Church matters he has need of being just as little infallible as he has credit for being in the case of civil rights, while yet, in accordance ever with existing

¹ See p. 77.

² See p. 169.

³ Pope 1305-14. Philip the Fair, King of France, had such power over him that he brought about the removal of the Pope to Avignon, 1309.

laws, he adjudicates in matters of life and death. So, too, the Pope may be recognized as the supreme ruler within the Romish Church, although the appeal to a future Council or to Jesus Christ, forbidden indeed by earlier Popes as well as by the present proposals, has nevertheless an ancient tradition, and a sure claim on the part of the troubled conscience in its favour. Apart from this the Pope may be permitted to exercise his rights, but with good Christian intelligence and in accordance with the advice of experts, in harmony with the existing Canons and dogmas, which have hitherto sufficed the Church for so long. If there is ever a real need for the fresh establishment of a dogma, or if the Church is threatened with such an entanglement and danger that the Holy Father cannot, by his action alone or together with his advisers, establish and adjust it, then it is alike his right and his duty to summon an ecumenical Council. If, however, this now recognizes the Pope as personally infallible, then it has for the last time exercised, or rather set itself to exercise, its own infallibility; for henceforward it has only to concur with the infallible voice of the Pope, a thing which goes by the marvellous name of passive infallibility. In fact this compulsory acquiescence is no longer infallibility of any sort, and so a moral force, which in difficult times may be invoked for the re-establishment of the Church, and in the days of Trent was not invoked in vain, is now through its own fault and that of the Holy Father bereft of power, and condemned to commit suicide.

Such reasonings were put forward in various forms by the great majority of bishops from Hungary and Austria, by something like half the German, French, English, and North American prelates, and even by

some from upper Italy. This opposition perceived itself to be weakened by the fact that a section of them only declared the establishment of the new dogma to be unseasonable, inopportune, partly because as yet all the theological difficulties were not solved so that this doctrine might be laid before Christian people without hesitation as Divine truth, partly because it gave occasion to the secular governments and the enemies of the Church to assail it with fresh weapons. When the bishop of Orleans¹, having apparently given up the hopes he had entertained before his arrival at Rome, with acute and striking reasons maintained against the archbishop of Mechlin this unseasonableness, it was certainly clear that his individual opposition held good against the dogma itself; yet it was a milder form for expressing antagonism to the desire of the Pope. The bishop of Mainz² had brought a treatise against the infallibility, and when the whole edition was confiscated by the papal authorities, he wrathfully declared that he would then have it struck off again, would go himself to Naples, bring it with him, and distribute it among his colleagues. Before the Council he went so far as to say that he always held the infallibility of the Pope to be true, or at least probable, but that its establishment as a dogma demanded so many precautions that he would vote against it; and so he represented the old traditional rights of the bishops against the attempt to erect an absolute monarchy in the Church. To these mere opportunists, however, it was easily replied: 'If God has really bestowed this perennial miracle upon His Church that a particular man declares at all times when it is of importance to do so, in the highest circumstances of life, the infallible

¹ Dupanloup. See p. 46.

² Von Ketteler.

truth, then it is a sacred duty as far as is possible and in the most solemn manner to bring this into universal recognition in opposition to the errors of our own and every age.'

Pius IX resolutely answered to the question whether he deemed the dogma to be opportune, 'No, but necessary.' He lamented over the bishops that they were tainted by the Protestants among whom they lived, and no longer had the right traditional sympathy with Rome. He now openly took a side. He publicly and gratefully commended writings, however poor, which aimed at proving the infallibility of the Pope. The inferior clergy in France were prompted to encourage the Pope by addresses in support of his infallibility, and so to embarrass the opposition bishops. They had trained up in the seminaries a body of clergy devoid of thought, but ready to seize promptly the opportunity of enjoying the credit of pious loyalty and raising themselves for once above their bishops, who accordingly were reproached with not representing the faith of their dioceses. The *Univers* published these addresses, together with the commendatory benedictions bestowed upon them by the Pope. It appears that the predictions, such as had been uttered from the time of his youth onwards, by women in an ecstatic condition (e. g. Maria Taigi), as well as whisperings of children who recently had such familiar intercourse with the Holy Virgin, had led him to think that it was the Divine mission of his pontificate to proclaim that saving dogma as the universal medicine for mankind sick unto death. In his simplicity he was at once angry and astonished that bishops in such numbers and so near the tomb of St. Peter ventured to dispute his convictions. He called them without hesitation enemies

of the Church, who withstood the Divine determination. He gave a favourable ear to his intimates who advised that, on the occasion of the departure from Rome of these antagonistic bishops, he should press into their hands at the same time with their travelling ticket an excommunication. While many a one, dependent upon him from external or internal causes, gave way before this indignation, his friendliness towards those who might perhaps be recovered was still more influential, if he somewhat sadly addressed to a bishop these words of the Risen Christ, 'Simon, son of John, lovest thou me?'¹ To withstand alike the threats and the friendliness of the Pope turned upon the amount of spirit possessed by each conscience. Archbishop Landriot of Reims, who after his arrival in Rome deserted the minority, said that he had only come over sooner than the others. Moreover, at that time there were fifteen cardinals' hats vacant. They floated as it were in the air, ready to descend upon worthy heads as a reward for efforts on behalf of infallibility or for conversion to the same. Archbishop Darboy of Paris and the Primate Simor of Hungary, for whom this dignity was destined in accordance with their national rank, nobly enough decided to forfeit by their opposition this highest aim of a bishop so long as he has not reached it. The story goes that a bishop, who had a claim on the special consideration of the Pope, pointed him to the danger of a schism owing to the dogma, and that he answered, 'We leave that to the providence of God'; and when he pointed out that tradition was by no means favourable, he replied, 'I am myself the tradition. As John

¹ John xxi. 15 ff.

Mastai¹ I believed in the infallibility of the Pope : now I feel that I am infallible.'

To understand this in the case of a man altogether in his sound senses, seeing that it reminds us of the inhabitant of an asylum, who under the influence of ambitious monomania deems himself to be the Son of God or the Holy Spirit, we must have regard to the distinction between the individual person and the high office, and, on the other hand, to their involuntary combination. Pius once opened an audience, such as he was often fond of giving to great numbers, with the words : ' You see, I am a poor, old, sorrowful man—but I am the Viceroy of Christ.' This is a modified form of what Thiers said in justification of his idol, Napoleon I : ' Omnipotence bears within it the germ of incurable madness ' ; so far as an imaginary infallibility could carry with it the same danger. Through almost a generation, a longer period than any of his predecessors, Pius IX was surrounded with the perfumes of incense. The new glorification of Catholicism found in him a personal object. Above all, the faithful from north of the Alps, who lay in reverence at his feet, deceived him as to himself. He persuaded himself that in consideration of the great sorrow which rested upon him—the obligation to leave to his successor those States of the Church, within the narrow bounds of which his government was hitherto painfully carried on (already for a long period half lost)—the Holy Virgin, who was under so great obligations to him, desired to compensate him by the solemn recognition of an unlimited power over souls. Veuillot, in the *Univers*, was edified by the account of a young girl who added

¹ More fully, Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti. He became Pope, as Pius IX, in 1846 ; d. 1878.

to her small gift for the Pope the prayer: 'Holy Mother of God, the Pope has made thee immaculate: do thou make him infallible'! Of course it was piously meant, and yet it was only a mutual 'making', artlessly expressed. The *Civiltà* maintained of the Pope, and without any allusion to the philosophy of Hegel¹: 'When he meditates, God meditates in him.' There arose a cult of the Pope. During the Council, Dubrevil, archbishop of Avignon, in a sermon at the church of St. Andrea della Valle, said: 'There are three incarnations of God: in the manger at Bethlehem, at the mass on the altar, and in the Vatican'. It is only the reverse side of this extravagance, not to say blasphemy, which is to be read in the wicked poem of the youthful Schelling:

They deem the earth centre of the world,
They refuse to gaze at the heavens.
Rome is placed at the centre of the world,
They hold before God a live ape.

The authorities of European States, which before the Council had adopted an attitude of cold refusal towards the proposal of the Bavarian ministry to bring about an agreement on certain precautionary measures, were now however hesitating, in view of a Pope who with his infallible utterance of the will of God could at any time excite masses of rude and credulous people against any legislation that might be displeasing to the Jesuits. France threatened, if the infallibility resolution was not dropped, to withdraw her troops, which protected the Pope and the Council from Garibaldi and the Italian people. Daru, at that time still minister for foreign affairs, had already written to Merode, to be

¹ The celebrated German philosopher, d. at Berlin, 1831. According to his philosophy Thought and Being are absolutely identical.

handed to the Pope, the pronouncement: 'Religious passions are still more difficult to deal with than political ones. It is evident that through the behaviour of the Italian and Spanish bishops, the missionary bishops and apostolic vicars, who appear to live in a world of their own, everything can be called in question.' Austria threatened to do away with the Concordat. Antonelli¹ reassured the governments: 'It is only a theological matter, so as to lay down the principle. In practice all previously existing rights and relations will be regarded with the usual moderation and gentleness.' The Roman populace, although they felt perhaps much hesitation with regard to an infallible Prince, appeared nevertheless to be in agreement with the majority of the Council. In the *Voices from Maria-Laach*² there appeared a correspondence from Rome of a somewhat materialistic hue, but not untrue in the main: 'Two things contribute especially to the successful prosecution of the Council—the good feeling of the Roman populace, and a brave although small army. As regards the first point, the disposition in Rome is good, decidedly good. The constant influx of foreigners brings with it profit down to the lowest strata.' This Italian estimate was the means of spreading the idea that an infallible Pope, who could command everything, would henceforth bring much money to Rome, not merely for the shattered finances of the State, but also for the rank and file of the people. Nevertheless lucifer matches, which were sold in Rome under the name of *infallibili* on account of their infallible lighting, were forbidden by the police.

In the Council parties were sharply opposed. To a certain extent there was always a threatening element

¹ See p. 85. [H.]

² 1869. Part iii. p. 71.

in the contention of a minority so powerful as to its intrinsic weight, that for a resolution that should be binding essential unanimity was required, yet there had really been no lack of proposals for mediation in the actual interests of peace. The statement that obedience only need be rendered to the doctrinal definitions of the Holy Father, without the acceptance of the heart, certainly answers, it was said, to a Catholic view of things, and is often practised ; yet it was too much in antagonism with customary sentiment for the Council to venture to advocate it. Every effective *epitome* of the opposition had this for its drift : 'The Pope in conjunction with the ecumenical Council is infallible.' But that needed no contentious proceedings. On that point *this* Council was simply at one. Strossmayer¹ also said : 'The Pope is nothing without the Council, the Council nothing without the Pope.' The design was to let the Council talk itself out on this question, in order that there might be no protest pointing to the refusal of liberty of speech ; and it was the last hope of the minority to spin out the time in making speeches until the unavoidable adjournment in the Roman summer, with the uncertainty whether and under what conditions the Council would assemble again in the late autumn. Thus then the prelates spoke and read discourses, while the boat inevitably drifted towards the cataract.

The festival of Saints Peter and Paul², on which the great announcement and thereupon the adjournment were expected, passed over, and the heat of July, with its feverish vapours, lay upon the gathering, which was not so disposed to allow itself to be decimated in this purgatory as was formerly the Council of Basel when it

¹ See p. 59.

² June 29.

determined to hold on in the middle of the plague. The Pope was determined to detain the Council, as was Jacob the nightly wrestler¹, until he had achieved his desire. Veuillot wrote in the *Univers*: 'Do allow yourselves to be roasted, for by no other means than this burning sun can the precious wine of infallibility be brought to maturity.'

In view of this position of affairs, while there were still forty speakers on the list, by means of a voluntary renunciation on both sides it came to a conclusion. The first three sections were already accepted. Even against the third only 60 votes had been given. When on July 13 the time came for the preliminary vote in the general congregation on the infallibility of the Pope, 451 said yes, 62 yes with a reservation (*ad modum*), i. e. a definite suggested alteration in the wording of the resolution. There were 88 noes; about 90 abstained from voting, because, although in Rome, they were not present. Among them was Antonelli. The same was probably the case with many merely owing to accidental hindrances.

The public session was fixed for the next Monday, to make presumably the permanent decision and to proclaim the new dogma. The position of the bishops who voted in the negative was not an easy one. They had perceived and shown that the infallibility of the Pope is contrary to Scripture and tradition; that it is the usurpation on the part of a poor child of man of what God has reserved to Himself; that it is injurious to the Church, as placing the government now altogether in the hands of the Jesuits, and perhaps sometime in the future in the hands of a frivolous or even criminal Pope. Pius IX demands approval. He is

¹ Gen. xxxii. 26.

convinced of his infallibility, and certain of a large majority for the resolution. They have sworn obedience to the Pope, also 'to preserve, defend, and augment the rights, honours, privileges, and the authority of the Roman Church, of our lord the Pope and his successors.' He and his party have the power to do each of them much hurt. When the Prince-bishop of Breslau, after his return home, contemplated resigning his office in order to avoid this collision, as his last predecessor but one in that office had already done on account of another collision, he wrote to a deputation that desired to dissuade him: 'What I have endured for the last year, what bitternesses and sufferings I am obliged to put up with in silence, God alone knows.' With this year coincides the time of his sojourn at Rome. But it is no other than the ecumenical Council, in whose infallibility they as Catholics have hitherto believed, which sets itself to work to make the incredible thing, the infallibility of the Pope, credible to the world.

In this exigency the minority resolved to send a deputation from their number to the Pope, to see whether by chance they might touch his heart. There were six bishops of different countries, the primate of Hungary as spokesman. After waiting an hour, they were admitted at nine o'clock in the evening. What they begged was (a) the recalling of the addition to the third section, by which the Pope was empowered to appropriate directly at any time the rights of every episcopal diocese, and (b) in the fourth section that infallibility should be limited to those resolutions only which the Holy Father should frame as based upon the testimony of the Church. Thereupon it appeared that Pius was still quite ignorant of the decree as the cardinal-legates in conjunction with the Committee on

matters of faith had drawn it up. With general promises, when he shall have read it, to do his utmost, he nevertheless adhered to the statement that it was notorious that the whole Church at all times had taught the unconditional infallibility of the Pope. Then bishop von Ketteler¹ came forward, threw himself on his knees before him, and for some minutes besought that the Father of the Catholic world might be pleased by means of somewhat of a concession to restore to the Church peace and its lost unity. Eyewitnesses related that it was indeed a moving spectacle to see these German prelates with the aristocratic consciousness of the Westphalian noble and the hierarchical sentiments of the bishop of Mainz, successor to the ancient arch-chancellor of the Empire, inspired by the ideal grandeur of the Papacy, and alarmed by the peril it was incurring through the present Pope, rolling on the ground before him with words of entreaty. Pius also was moved, and dismissed the deputation with consoling anticipations. But even before he retired to rest, Manning, and Senestrey, bishop of Ratisbon, succeeded in altering his sentiments. We can imagine how they represented that all was ready, that he must not, through a moment of untimely concession, allow to come to naught what had been so long in preparation, and was now on the verge of attainment, nor his own Divine declaration with its bearing upon the history of the world.

A sort of compromise, however, had in fact been brought about. On every occasion of a public session this number of respected bishops with their *non-placets*, although in the minority, was uncomfortable to the Pope's party. Up to this time the departure of every individual was conditional upon special permission. In

¹ See p. 292.

the last general congregation the legates announced : 'The bishops are permitted for reasons of health or on account of pressing business to return home ; they must, however, return by St. Martin's Day¹. The Council is hereby neither dissolved nor adjourned.'

Hereupon the diminished minority laid before the Pope an address, dated July 17, pointing out that in the congregation of the 13th ult. eighty-eight prelates had voted *non placet*, while others, who on account of sickness or weighty reasons of different kinds had returned to their dioceses, sympathized with them in this. These votes, they said, would act as evidence to His Holiness and the whole world, that they had discharged the duty which belonged to their office. Since then nothing had happened to alter their conviction, but rather many and grave circumstances had arisen to confirm them in it. They therefore desire hereby to emphasize their vote. But they have determined to abstain from attendance at the public session. 'For the childlike piety and reverence, which lately brought our delegates to the feet of your Holiness, do not permit us in a matter so closely touching the person of your Holiness to say *non placet* in the sight of the Holy Father. Yet in the solemn session we could only repeat the votes given in the general congregation. We are returning without delay to our flocks, for whom after so long an absence our presence is extremely necessary on account of the apprehensions of war, painfully moved that on account of the mournful conditions under which we live, we shall find disquiet instead of peace and repose of conscience among the faithful who belong to us.' The opposition forthwith departed from Rome, with the mutual promise that in the question of what is to be

¹ November 11. St. Martin became bishop of Tours circ. 371.

done in the face of the resolutions of the majority no one is to take the initiative singly and for himself, but that all should remain in mutual touch upon the subject and act in accordance with counsel taken in concert. They strengthened each other with assurances that they would hold out to the end, and give to the world an example of courage and endurance of which it stood so much in need.

Thus in the fourth public session on July 18, *placet* was, with one consent, uttered from mouth to mouth 533 times. Only two bishops, hitherto little noticed in the opposition, had the courage to say *non placet*. There is a tale that the throne was so placed that an hour after midday, just when it should come to the proclamation of the dogma, a sunbeam should fall from the cupola upon the Pope. Instead of this a storm passed over the Vatican. This new constitution was proclaimed, like the Law from Mount Sinai ¹, to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning. It became so dark in St. Peter's that a candle had to be held before the Pope in order to promulgate the first dogmatic constitution of the Church (*Pastor eternus*). After commencing with the declaration that since the gates of hell oppose themselves with daily increasing hatred to the edifice of the Church founded by God Himself, it has become necessary to prescribe to all believers for their guidance the doctrine of the institution, eternal duration, and inward nature of the holy apostolic primacy, on which rests the strength and steadfastness of the whole Church, the document runs thus in its fourth section: 'Therefore we, faithfully adhering to the tradition which has come down to us from the commencement of the Christian faith, to the

¹ Exod. xix. 16 ff.

glory of our Divine Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian nations, with the concurrence of the holy Council teach and establish as a Divinely published dogma; that the bishop of Rome, if he is speaking *ex cathedra*, i.e. if in the exercise of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held fast by the whole Church, then by means of the Divine assistance promised to himself through St. Peter, he enjoins with the infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer desired His Church to be furnished on the occasion of the establishment of a doctrine concerning faith or morals; and so that definitions of this kind on the part of the Pope of Rome are incapable of amendment inherently, and not by reason of the concurrence of the Church. But if any one (which God forefend!) should venture to speak against this our definition, let him be accursed.'

At the same time that, on the other side of the Alps, the tumult of war broke loose owing to the act of outrage on the part of the French government and the *furor Teutonicus* which uprose against it, there were spoken in such fashion as this the most daring words uttered on holy ground since the time when the man ate of the tree of knowledge that he might become as God¹, as a man now says that he has done; 'I the Pope am infallible, and all people who learn this, must believe it on pain of loss of eternal salvation.' Out of his own eloquence Pius added: 'The authority of the Pope is great, but to edification, not to destruction. It does not crush, but very frequently supports and defends the rights of our brethren the bishops. If

¹ Gen. iii. 5 f.

some have not been willing to vote with us, they may be assured that they have voted under a misconception, and they may remember that the Lord is not in that misconception. Also they may remember that some years ago they were of the same opinion as ourselves and this great assembly. How is this? Have they two consciences and two wills in the same matter? God keep them from this! To that end we pray God, Who alone worketh great marvels, to enlighten their minds and hearts, that they may return to their Father's breast, i. e. to the breast of the sovereign Pope, the unworthy vicar of Jesus Christ, that he may embrace them and that they may labour with us against the enemies of the Church. May God grant that they say with St. Augustine: My God, Thou hast given me Thy marvellous light, and this is what I see. Yea, may they all see! May God pour out upon them His blessings!

The Constitution *Pastor eternus* contains a thorough-going theory of the Prince of the Apostles continuing to rule in the persons of his successors, the proclamation of the absolute power of the Pope over the Church. If we compare the two *Schemas* as to the infallibility with the dogma in its final shape, there is noticeable in the last mentioned an approach to the traditional language of the Schools, and a greater definiteness. The later *Schema* pointed to a second organ of infallibility, the universal Church. Under this might be understood the invisible power of the Christian spirit, which in the course of the centuries at length, by means of Christian nations, decides as paramount even over Popes and Councils. But still 'the teaching Church in conjunction with the Pope' is the ecumenical Council. Thus an infallibility should be adjudged to belong to

this also, if it were only in the interests of its resolution in favour of the personal infallibility of the Pope. This resolution, however, can only be of the nature of a last will, a testament. For since according to the dogma the Pope can at any time proclaim infallible truth without the Council, he never has need of it for this purpose; and if he notwithstanding summons it for any other reason whatsoever, its vote, whether that of the majority or of the minority, carries authority only so far as the infallible Pope agrees with the one or the other. This, it may be said, is only an apparent infallibility, that is to say, none at all; and in this, moreover, the truth of the saying is shown, that only one organ of infallibility is conceivable, if it be conceivable among mankind at all. According to this nothing is lost by the more frank form of statement in the end resolved upon, which indeed names the Church as endowed by the Redeemer with infallibility, but the Pope by himself as its wholly irresponsible organ. Also in the *Schema* the ecumenical Council was only incidentally mentioned, perhaps to ease the consciences of the majority. Indeed, by means of the addition incorporated almost at the last moment at the instance of Spanish bishops, 'definitions on the part of the Pope are incapable of amendment in themselves, and not by reason of the concurrence of the Church,' the new dogma had bestowed on the Pope a harsh, almost insolent, position towards the Church. Otherwise, however, appearances are preserved; perhaps too a readiness not to omit to recognize the limitations to infallibility as handed down in modern theological tradition; the limitation to resolutions with regard to faith and morals, defined *ex cathedra* and for the whole Church.

The insecurity of these limitations has already dis-

closed itself to us, although, at any rate in German countries, it was quite for the interest of believers or semi-believers in infallibility to maintain them as narrow as possible. We know from the Book of Canon Law and from modern experience how everything which has an interest for the hierarchy forthwith through some connexion or another concerns faith and morals, e. g. the possession and the loss of Church property. In accordance with the claim put forth from Rome as centre, decisions of papal authorities as to writings, having reference to their theological and philosophical contents, share in the infallibility, and complaisant bishops even anterior to the Council showed themselves disposed to recognize this. According to the learned Jesuit Schrader, 'everything which is requisite in order to preserve the deposit of revelation in its integrity' appertains to infallibility. This is in complete harmony with the peculiar papal declaration in the ninth Canon of the propositions concerning the Church, which were previously submitted to the Council: 'If any one says that the infallibility of the Church is limited to that which is contained in the Divine revelation, and does not extend to other truths as well which are necessarily demanded in order to preserve the deposit of Revelation inviolate, let him be accursed.' But according to the latest decision the Church, so far as concerns infallibility, is the Pope.

The vagueness in the sense of *ex cathedra* also was not removed in the last part of the proceedings. In support of this latest form of the dogma it is said that the Pope speaks *ex cathedra* only if in a solemn allocution intended for the whole Church he is either establishing a doctrine of the faith, or declaring a proposition to be heretical, and pronouncing a curse

upon those who adhere to it. This limitation has arisen specially with the design of shaking off the fatal consequences of the historical fact of erroneous papal pronouncements like those of the luckless Honorius¹. Meanwhile, since the curse does not necessarily share in the infallibility, here too the reference is made to be to morals. In any case it would always be competent to the infallible Pope himself to declare his sentence to be infallible and to give it what is perhaps the officially established form of infallibility, like the blue paper and small royal seal of a Prussian Cabinet Order. Thus perhaps things must remain as they are in regard to the generally accepted definition of the official proclamation as issuing from the supreme head of the Church. Gregory XIII, in the Bull *Ascendente Domino* of 1584, expressly complained that his direction *ex cathedra* as to an affair connected with the Order of the Jesuits was regarded only as his private opinion. Thus the direction as given for the whole Church does not essentially belong to a pronouncement *ex cathedra*, although this too is certainly not lacking to the mediaeval Bulls dealing with the dethroning of kings, the condemnation of heretics, and the burning of witches. With the same design it has also been emphasized that it is not the Pope personally, but only the papal office as teacher, that is infallible. But that office speaks only through the Pope, and so it is only the distinction between official orders and mere private expressions. According to this we cannot doubt that, however seldom and prudently during the next few years the prerogative of infallibility may venture to be used, yet in a future to be estimated according to circumstances, everything which it ever lies in the

¹ See p. 263.

interests of the Pope or the Jesuits to teach or to order will be covered with the broad cloak of infallibility.

For the infusion of the Divine Spirit by means of which this infallibility exists, the dogma employs a modest name which came into use through modern caution, i.e. simply *assistentia*, the Divine aid. Thus it means merely the support of the Holy Spirit guarding from error. This, however, could scarcely suffice for that which is thought of and claimed as its effect. The writings which are condemned in Rome have not been read by the Pope. Moreover, he is absolutely unable to read them, at any rate the German ones, in their own language. We know for certain that Pius IX does not understand a theological system like that of Günther¹, and yet it has been condemned under his name. Accordingly, if it is not a case of misusing his authority, we must assume that the Pope obtained, by means of inspiration, the truth which was unintelligible to himself in order to condemn this system. In the Chamber at Baden in 1872 a priest maintained that 'The Pope cannot err, even if he desired to do so'. It was received with Homeric laughter, yet it was merely the most precise expression of the dogma. Or suppose that a Pope in extreme old age became childish, but continued perverse in putting forth decrees for the whole Church; these would bring the Church and his successors into great embarrassment, if their infallibility failed to be forthwith guarded by their being Divinely inspired. Aid is in that case obtained from an ancient saying of the Jesuits: 'The Pope can impart light, although blind, and even a wholly ignorant Pope can quite well be

¹ See p. 241.

infallible, as God, we know, in old time led men on the right way by means of a mere ass.' This would agree with the accepted belief in the Pope's shrine¹ for all rights, or in the illumination of a Pope for the time being, in a case where in everyday life the assured conviction of the individual has a dash of the supernatural. An example of this may be when Pius IX, on being urged by his adviser to leave Rome, replied: 'God has not inspired me to go.' This is indeed something exceeding the dogma of Divine aid for the secure guarding at all times of the apostolic tradition. But here in general a defect is apparent in the Catholic system otherwise so well framed. The grace belonging to each particular office, whether of priest or bishop, is imparted by the consecrating hand of him who possesses it as a transmission in a fashion which combines the material and the immaterial: only the highest official grace, the infallibility of the Pope, is not so imparted. Many suggestive ceremonies surround the consecration of a Pope, but no Pope is in a position to consecrate his successor.

By means of the bishops from beyond the seas, who for their safe keeping during the summer had been distributed among the ecclesiastical houses in the surrounding hills, and by means of titular bishops, who lived in Rome, with the aid of the cardinals, the Council could apparently be carried on. In fact, even in the middle of August a general congregation took place which carried out a supplementary election to the Committee for ecclesiastical discipline, and took in hand two new *Schemas*. Pius IX could no longer have had a burning interest in seeing the Council again assembled in full numbers around him. For the

¹ See p. 268.

real Catholics his syllabus was already infallible without more ado, and he can of his own accord permit the Holy Virgin to depart for heaven. Nevertheless, he desired the return of the bishops as witnesses of this ascension and for the reception, now certainly imminent, of the wholly new aspect of the Church for which so many carefully worked *Schemas* were in hand. But, since Italy has broken into the city of the Popes, he can no longer receive the prelates as a secular Prince. A Brief, dated October 20, adjourned the Council to a more fitting season, inasmuch as a blasphemous inroad into the holy city¹ had disloyally overthrown all right, and accordingly the needful freedom and security could no longer be ensured to the Council. The Italian government forthwith guaranteed the Council complete freedom and security, while it expressed itself confident that the dignitaries of the Church would permit political considerations to have no influence upon their decisions. The writings of both parties in the Council might then, at any rate, have been printed at Rome.

The more important question was concerning the Council as it had been up till now, how far the power which in the end passes judgement even upon an ecumenical Council would recognize its twofold resolution, the universal bishop and his infallibility. The shock of the war² with its thrilling incidents had not only claimed the two countries whose blood had been shed, but the sympathies of all civilized nations, to such an extent that the Pope of the new dogma was at first but little regarded. The *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* of August 15 delivered this judgement:

¹ Rome was entered by the Italian troops, September 20, 1870.

² Between France and Germany.

‘The monstrosity has taken place. The paramount party in the Church has committed the crime of declaring to be a heresy the oldest principle of the Catholic faith that revealed truth is made known only by the continuous consent of all Churches, and, on the other hand, has declared as a dogma by the mouth of the unhappy Pius IX the crazy opinion of mere human origin that the Pope by himself is infallible. It has ventured to threaten with excommunication from the Church all those who may decline to agree to this overbearing outrage. It was not a formally valid resolution of the Council which delivered this verdict. It was merely a fag-end of the Vatican gathering which, on account of the scornful contempt dealt out by the Court and that faction to the independent members, on account of its departure from all rules of ecumenical Councils in order to thwart free deliberation, on account of official calumnation of the minority, had long forfeited the reputation of an ecumenical Council, or in truth had never won it. This fag-end of a sickly corporate body has attempted to turn the Church upside down by the overthrow of its constitution, and Pius IX has lent himself to confirm this criminal undertaking.’ After he has shared in and contributed to this deification of the Papacy, only one crown is now said to remain for him to acquire, ‘that of the penitent.’

People’s eyes turned towards the bishops who had opposed the dogma in Rome. Immediately the rumour spread of the submission of one or another. Lord Acton¹, the friend of Döllinger, the unprejudiced

¹ Lord Acton was supposed to be author of the *Römische Briefe*, carried from Rome at the time of the Council by trusty messengers to Munich, revised by Döllinger and his friends, and published in the Augsburg Journal. He was a man of enormous historical learning, and died as Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, 1902.

observer and historian of the Council, who, during the winter in Rome, formed the central link of a noble body of friends, described in a published writing the bishops of the opposition, those Fathers of the Council whom a large portion of the Catholic world honours as the true witnesses to its faith, while it also desires for the future to remain indissolubly associated with them. He related with what searching reasons they attacked the new dogma, and what alarming consequences they declared would arise from its acceptance, so that one of their number desired to die rather than accept the decree, 'this blasphemy.' 'But the hour of the decision is come, and the voices, for which people most eagerly listen, are suddenly dumb.' Yet he also mentions the saying of an archbishop, a member of this opposition, who drew the distinction between a bishop and an ordinary Christian thus: 'Before the confirmation (of the dogma) we are bishops, and are bound to vote according to our conscience and according to our convictions. After the Pope's confirmation of it we are merely Christians, and have to give the world an example of humble submission to the judgement of the Church.' Supposing that the bishops had now at this late hour come over to this view, and had admitted as the teaching and law of the Church the opposite of that which they had so manfully maintained, in that case they would have a lamentable list of errors and calumnies to cancel, 'which must not only be recalled, but disproved. For they were not spoken in vain, and have awakened conviction in the hearts of many men. The knowledge that the Vatican Council was a long intrigue, carried through with craft and violence, made its way through the whole world.' Thus speaks this letter of the Catholic nobleman,

intimately acquainted with German erudition, full of earnest warning and bitter irony.

Those bishops each severally, one after the other, submitted themselves to the infallible Master, proclaimed the dogma in their dioceses, and with more or less determination required its believing acceptance from the priests. The German bishops and administrators of Sees, seventeen of them, at the end of August, 1870, again put forth from Fulda¹ a pastoral to this effect, to be read in their Churches: Christ has instituted an infallible office of teaching, on which the whole security and happiness of our faith repose. This office in its most solemn form takes effect by means of general Councils. To their decisions, as being infallible utterances of the Holy Spirit, the faithful have at all times submitted themselves, not because the bishops are men of rich experience, many of them versed in all branches of knowledge, not because, as coming together from all countries of the world, they to a certain extent combine the knowledge existing in all parts, not because during a long life they have sought out and proclaimed the Word of God (for all this would only ensure the highest possible degree of human credibility), but because God, Who alone in Himself is infallible truth, guards them in a supernatural manner from error. Such a general Council is the present one in Rome, with whose approval, after many and earnest deliberations, the Holy Father by virtue of his apostolic authority of teaching, on April 24 and July 18 solemnly proclaimed various decisions as to the doctrine of the faith, of the Church, and of its supreme Head. These decisions must be accepted with firm

¹ A bishopric and State of the old German Empire. The town is in the province of Hesse-Nassau, Prussia.

faith by all as Divinely revealed truths, if they desire really to be and to remain members of the one Catholic Church. They must not allow themselves to be misled by protests made against them. 'Such objections are altogether unfounded. So long as the deliberations continued the bishops, as their convictions demanded and in compliance with the duties of their office, expressed their views with outspoken directness and the necessary freedom, and in so doing—for in an assembly of nearly eight hundred Fathers this could hardly be expected to be otherwise—many differences of opinion also came to light. The validity of the resolutions of the Council, however, can in no wise be impugned by reason of these differences of opinion, even apart from the circumstance that the bishops, who at the time of the public session were still of dissentient views, almost to a man abstained from voting on that occasion. Notwithstanding this, to assert that one or another doctrine laid down by the general Council is not contained in Holy Scripture and in Catholic tradition, the two sources of the Catholic faith, or is even in opposition to these, is a proceeding which is inconsistent with the principles of the Catholic Church, and which leads to separation from the communion of the Church.'

In all the unctuous language of the latter part of this pastoral there must, at any rate, be admitted that there is some embarrassment, for it was not within the power of man to demonstrate, in accordance with the assurances which emanated from Fulda in the previous year, that the Council had set up no new doctrines, different from those which 'all Catholics have written on their hearts by means of the faith and their conscience'—assurances which indeed, even at that date, were not

sincere, but only aimed at preventing the controverted question of infallibility from being brought before the Council, in accordance with the almost contemporaneous communication of warning on the part of the majority of the bishops who had assembled at Rome. The second pastoral did not once venture to set forth the contents of the dogma of July 18. It emphasized rather the infallibility of general Councils, which is precisely what with this dogma becomes extinct. The bishops of what had hitherto been the opposition could appeal to Fénelon¹, and in fact they did more than Fénelon; but in this 'more' there lies the very difference between that which is in the highest sense Catholic and that which is not even moral. The swan of Cambrai, as the French called him, merely submitted himself in humility to the Pope's condemnation, obtained by a coil of intrigues, upon a book, his own book, which he considered to be not without defects, however judicious and pious it was intended to be. It is rather the author than the bishop who submitted himself. The Vatican bishops submitted themselves to a dogma, whose falsity and unwholesome character for the Church and their country was thoroughly known to them. They submitted themselves to a majority which, banded about a firm Jesuit nucleus, is no less known to them as a dependent, to a large extent ignorant, inert crowd. By taking up with this crowd they themselves countenanced the aspect of imposing unanimity presented by the resolution, and, in the face of this, it is claimed to be the Holy Spirit to whom they are submitting themselves. Thus one of the most repugnant sides of modern Catholicism is in their persons brought to light, viz. indifference to recognized

¹ See p. 17.

truth as a religious duty, and surely, on the other side, the power of community of Catholic sentiment.

We have an instance of how this worked in individuals, in the bishop of Rottenburg, who was not present at the meeting in Fulda. Dr. von Hefe¹ shortly before the Council was appointed a bishop in Württemberg, and brought to the wearing of the mitre the most unsullied reputation as a Tübingen professor. He had always lived a life of toil, simplicity, almost of poverty, applying the modest income of the See to charitable purposes. The Curia were unable to refuse him canonical institution, although a learned man of independent thought, for a year previously, when urged to invite also some really learned men from Germany among the advisers in preparation for the Council, they had summoned him to Rome, where, it is true, he was made use of only in the case of a solitary clause, as the best acquainted with conciliar matters, to draw out from the Acts of the Council of Trent their order of business, which after all was not followed in Rome. During the Council he was the learned counsellor of the opposition. Strossmayer reported to me one evening: 'If on some occasion we sit together very low in spirits (in the confederation of the minority from the various nations), Hefe in bad French, or admirable Swabian, or in good Latin, throws in one of his courageous expressions, and we pluck up fresh heart.' Again, in his own country, on November 11, 1870, he bestowed this answer upon a circle of friends in response to a confidential inquiry: 'I can conceal from myself as little in Rottenburg as in Rome that the new dogma lacks a genuine traditional and Biblical foundation, and injures the Church in an incalculable manner, so that she has never sustained a more harsh or

¹ See p. 264.

deadly blow than on July 18 of this year. But my eye is too weak to discover in this strait a mode of deliverance, after almost the whole German Episcopate has, in one night, so to speak, changed its convictions, and in part gone over in a spirit of fierce persecution to the doctrine of infallibility. I see with alarm that shortly in all the religious instruction given in Germany infallibility will be taught as the leading doctrine of Christianity, and I can picture to myself the pain of parents at having to commit their children to such schools. But all musing and thinking upon this strait has hitherto led me no further than to a rule with regard to my own person. I will not proclaim the new dogma in my diocese, and in fact the infallibility teaching will be given in it only by a few clergy. Most of the general public ignore the new dogma, and the people, with the exception of a very few, mostly *grandees*, trouble themselves not at all about it, and are quite content that the bishop says nothing. So much the more discontented are those on the other side, and the consequences for me will not have to be long waited for. I desire rather to lose my See than peace of conscience. Such killing off of individuals could only have been prevented if the collective German Episcopate had set itself against the publication of the decree. *Vis unita fortior*¹. In Rome I had hopes that such might approximately take place. Now it has turned out quite differently.'

It would have been no sacrifice for him to lay down his episcopal staff, and return perhaps to his students. While the Council was still in progress I once said to him in the social circle: 'After spending a good slice of your life upon the history of the Councils, it must be

¹ Union of force lends courage.

very interesting to you to be living now in the midst of this history.' He replied : ' If I had known that it was bringing me to that, I would not have put pen to paper.' What kept him in office were, first, the prospect that after his resignation a papal zealot would succeed, and, secondly, the entreaties of those loyal to him, and perhaps also of the government, by his continuance to preserve peace in the country. And he did provisionally preserve it for the country, inasmuch as five months after that letter he proclaimed the dogma of infallibility in as watered-down a form as possible, and so that no priest was compelled to accept it. In talking familiarly to a clergyman who was fond of expressing himself in very contemptuous terms on the subject of the dogma, he let fall the remark that he had best in this evil time be on his guard ; that nowadays one might argue about the Blessed Trinity with less danger of punishment than about the Pope's infallibility. Censured by that circle of friends on account of his declension by publishing the above-mentioned letter, on October 15, 1871, he put forth this declaration with a complaint that his confidential communication had been published : ' On the one side I was convinced that a schism would be the greatest misfortune, and that I would never be a participator in such ; on the other side, I believed that I could not *ex animo* publish in my diocese the Vatican decrees of July 18, but that perhaps I might be able to escape this intolerable position by resignation. It is known to friends and foes on this and on the other side of the Alps that this inward conflict lasted till April 10, 1871, when I succeeded, in the sincere submission of my private judgement to the highest ecclesiastical authority, in making my peace with the Vatican decree, the result

of which is set forth in my pastoral communication of April 11. What I foresaw right well has taken place. This step has brought upon me much persecution, but it has brought back to me instead inward peace.' He once said in Rome: 'I have studied Church history for fifty years, but I have found in the early Church nothing about the infallibility of the Pope.' He knows well, and has proved from the original documents that the infallibility of the Pope is a fiction. I cannot recall the assertion that the bishop throttled the man of learning, and that that Church, which brought a nature so nobly framed and so richly cultivated into this kind of internal conflict and internal peace, cannot in this be the Church desired by Christ.

The bishops on both sides of the ocean all submitted to the new dogma. It was the scrupulousness of some German professors which rose up against it. At the end of August eleven of them united in making this declaration in Nuremberg: 'The resolutions of the majority of the assemblage of bishops at the Vatican published by means of the Bull of July 18, we are unable to recognize as the pronouncements of a truly ecumenical Council. We reject them as new doctrines, never recognized by the Church. For (1) at the Council an authentication of the teaching of the Church was not attained, owing to the prohibition of complete furnishing of testimony and free expression of opinion. (2) Freedom, such as it was, lacked every sort of moral force, of the kind belonging to the essential character of an ecumenical Council, inasmuch as an order of business, which put a check upon freedom, was laid down by the Pope and adhered to in spite of the protests of many of the bishops. Moreover, in the doctrine personally affecting the Pope many methods

were used for exercising a moral compulsion upon the members. (3) The doctrines have not been recognized in the Church always, nor everywhere, nor by all. Accordingly an opinion, the opposite of which was up to this time taught and believed in many dioceses, was declared to be a Divinely revealed doctrine. (4) By this means the ordinary administrative power of the Church, transferred from the bishops to the Pope alone, would be completely destroyed. (5) In consequence of these doctrines, those ecclesiastico-political pronouncements of earlier and later Popes are declared to be rules of faith, whereby a friendly understanding between Church and State, clergy and laity, Catholics and people of other faiths would for the future be excluded.'

The archbishop of Munich, von Scherr, a mild-natured ecclesiastic, who had to the last in Rome opposed the papal infallibility, after he had in Munich proclaimed it to be Divinely revealed truth, and enjoined that it should be believed, went home and was greeted by the theological faculty. He made sorrowful mention of the latest events in Rome, and concluded: '*Roma locuta est*¹; we can do nothing but submit.' As though for consolation he added: 'You are well aware that there have always been changes in the Church and in doctrines. It has full often happened in past time that dogmas needed explanations.' When going away, he turned and said to Döllinger: 'So we desire to commence anew to labour for the holy Church.' He answered in his own sharp way: 'Yes, for the old Church.' The archbishop said: 'There is only one Church, not a new and an old.' The collegiate provost rejoined: 'A new one has been made.'

¹ Rome has spoken. See p. 279.

This became the expression which, like the *protest* at Speyer in former time, supplied a name for the *Old Catholic* opposition, when compelled by Roman and German excommunications to found a Church of their own. Through national approval this became possible in the German Empire and in Switzerland. Trusty men placed themselves at the head, who brought with them the offering of a peaceful and consecrated official activity, although at first only at the risk of this inner martyrdom of being compelled to break for ever with that holy thing for which hitherto they had lived. Above all others this pang had penetrated the soul of the venerable patriarch in Munich, who had behind him a long distinguished life spent in the learned defence and glorifying of the Catholic Church, and, when he had come to its culmination, where it is so consonant with human nature to enjoy the rich harvest of past days, he was yet compelled now to reject her lordly Roman aspect, and was by her rejected, inasmuch as he showed that he could not as a Christian, a theologian, an historian, or a citizen accept the new dogma.

It may indeed come about that, as formerly great masses of people resisted indulgences, so now they may resist a deified man, on whose infallibility it is said to be necessary to salvation to believe, seeing that it is with those masses alone that the verdict of history rests; but this dogma, as it does not at all distress the laity under the conditions of the modern State, remains in its menaces for the future, which are its logical consequence, unintelligible to the multitude. Thus we hear perhaps the light-hearted speech: 'As a good Catholic, I submit myself to the Pope's decision, but may the devil make away with me if I believe it.' The generality of educated persons subscribe to the

saying of the archbishop of Paris: 'The Council is an assembly of sacristans' (in the French sense), 'and their dogma is always absurd.' From England we heard the sorrowful speech of the most pious of all the converts there¹: 'They have taken away our peace at Rome.' At this time, in which things are accustomed to go quickly, there have been gathered into the Old Catholic Church in Germany and in Switzerland something like 100,000 believers. This severance too has arisen out of the customary religious earnestness of the German nation. It cannot be satisfied with overthrowing one papal dogma, while yet willing to recognize the Roman primacy in its formal significance for the unity of the Church. Its very interest in remaining Catholic has impelled it in the direction of reforms, both in accordance with its external rights and to gratify the individual sentiment of its faithful members. Who may foretell whether in the presentation of a Catholicism, purified and on friendly terms with ourselves, a future is promised to the Old Catholic Church, or whether it will only survive to coming centuries like the ruins of Jansenism² in the Netherlands? But this result of the Vatican Council, during the progress of which something of the kind was already predicted as threatening, viz. the loss of so many highly endowed and conscientious believers for the Roman Church, is undeniably in evidence and present to our view.

The justification for the rejection of the Vatican dogma seemed to rest most securely upon the ground that the assembly in St. Peter's was not a free ecumenical Council. We, too, have not been able to commend

¹ John Henry Newman, joined the Church of Rome in 1845, was made a cardinal in 1879; d. 1890.

² See p. 149.

the propriety of its composition and the freedom of its procedure, but we were unable to discover therein a ground for its nullity. The opposition itself, too, up to July 16, took part in its proceedings, and thus had recognized the Council as ecumenical, so far as its summoning was concerned. If they withdrew before the decisive vote, yet it is certain that, according to the traditional Catholic view of the law, it is only required for an ecumenical Council that all the members should be invited, not that all should come and take part in voting. Moreover, there is always left over a greater number than many an ecumenical Council has included in its whole course ; therefore, to be frank, it is not on account of a formal defect in the Council that its dogma is to be considered invalid, but the Council, on account of the unchristian character of the dogma. That tribunal, to which Döllinger and Father Hotzl¹ pointed, will carry out its function, the tribunal consisting of the Christian spirit acting through the Catholic nations. How speedily or how tardily that occurs, with what energy or with what sluggishness, cannot be foreseen ; but as the invisible rock of Peter in the low ground within the Vatican domain, (where, however, an advanced age can be reached,) is surrounded by malaria, so the Vatican Council and its dogma is sure to remain a stone of stumbling on which St. Peter's boat, so far as Christ does not sit within it, risks being shattered.

Nevertheless the new dogma did not arise out of simple caprice, however much it was modified by the personality and the personal surroundings of the Pope. So far as the Catholic Church in its vague craving sought for an organ of infallibility, in order to bring the latter into operation on all occasions it was of

¹ See p. 62.

course obvious to take the ecumenical Council for this purpose. In any case it must have seemed less perilous to entrust to the experience and discretion of a great assemblage of bishops that which lays hold upon the innermost heart and conscience of the faithful, than that any individual whatever, although it might be a man so highly endowed, should perhaps at the spur of the moment or under the sway of a faction venture to emit his utterance, which henceforth for all time is to be believed and put into practice as Divine truth. On the other hand, it might be expected that in the great gathering from all parts of a world-wide Church the highest ecclesiastical wisdom would be concentrated. This, however, was in fact but little in evidence on the occasion of the last Council, as there the bishops of higher theological attainments stood isolated from the rest, and people were heard to say, not altogether without justification: 'the more ignorance, the more faith in the infallible Pope.' This was a household word which was not confined to bishops, but extended in its application also to people at large. But still, where there was belief in the episcopal office, the highest official credit, at any rate, was concentrated in such an assembly, and the individual, possessed of the modest consciousness of his own weakness, might feel himself supplemented by the spirit which dominated the collective body. But when the craving of Catholicism to possess forthwith the ideal in an active and external form, had brought the Papacy into prominence as being the Christ living on in person upon the earth, it is only a continuation of the same train of thought to ascribe to this Viceroy of God attributes of God incarnate, so far as they can claim to attach themselves in any way to a mere man, and thus above all

to impute infallibility to him as the teacher of mankind. This corresponds also in other respects to the mould in which Catholicism is cast. The host, by means of the utterance of a charm, becomes the body of the God-Man: an ordinary man, only of course by means of a solemn act of election and its acceptance, becomes an infallible being. Belief in this arose, and for a long time was able to exist, merely as a free opinion within the Catholic Church, which, however, was destined sooner or later to come into collision with episcopal infallibility in an ecumenical Council. There was an obvious objection against this Church, as it was expressed in the earlier impressions of this book, by way of conclusion to the historical survey, in the words: 'From all this it is evident that the Catholic Church itself, although it has often based its actions upon the presumption of its infallibility, refusing to all those of other faiths eternal salvation and so far as possible depriving them also of temporal welfare, nevertheless has never had a firm and permanent consciousness with regard to a definite organ of this infallibility, and definite tokens of its infallible decisions. To such an extent has this been the case that one reputed organ of infallibility has contradicted the other, the one Catholic Church the other, the Pope the general Councils, and these the Pope.' To this objection the Vatican Council, so far as it finds belief, has put an end, inasmuch as it assigned to the Pope in any case the paramount position of infallibility, and raised his incapability of error, hitherto a matter for the voluntary exercise of imagination, to the position of a dogma to be believed on pain of the loss of eternal salvation. Only this occurrence, in itself a logical result, has lighted upon a time in which there is without doubt a sufficient

mass of folly and superstition, and yet so much also of intelligence and sentiment for freedom, as to interfere seriously with a real and pious belief in the dogma.

It was in this sense that Alfred von Reumont¹, that learned and kindly well-wisher to papal Italy, with which he was well acquainted, called the Vatican Council 'a misfortune for the collective Catholic world, for the clergy, for the Episcopate, for the Papacy itself'; and the bishop of Mainz² in one of his fluctuations of opinion while at Rome, if I am rightly informed, called the project of the dogma a crime, than which no worse could have been committed by a Pope. Father Lainez³, who at Trent, however willingly listened to by some, was a failure owing to the bishops' hardness of hearing, after the century of the 'Illumination'⁴ came to life again, and impressed his dogma upon the Church. Hereby the Council advanced to the climax, and completed the idea of the Papacy, viz. the dogma of infallibility walking in the midst of us in the shape of this definite living person, a Divine vicar and representative of God, who, at every hour on occasion of every doubt and perplexity which comes in sight is empowered to give an infallible decision. Hereby it is also clear that a goodly number of simple-minded bishops intended not to hearken to the Propaganda, not to the Jesuits, nor even to pious regard for Pio Nono, but to carry out a genuinely Catholic act, when they made use for the last time of the infallibility of the Council in order to decree a higher, personal infallibility. The representation, too, that it was only Pius IX and the future

¹ A German writer on Italian history and art, and a diplomatist, whose services were rendered largely at the papal Court; d. 1887.

² Von Ketteler.

³ See p. 40.

⁴ See p. 97.

Popes who were to be spoken of as infallible, augured simplicity on the part of the bishops. When such a bishop had had demonstrated to him after the voting the necessary inclusion of all Popes of preceding times with their Bulls directed to the whole Church, he was horror-stricken at all which he was now bound to believe. Comfort was offered him in the Roman proverb: 'He who has eaten the ox must not shrink back from the tail.' These bishops might rejoice in their hearts when the Pope proclaimed his infallibility, in the words of Holy Writ: 'It is the voice of a god, and not of a man!'¹ But beside the summit there lies steep the precipice. The new God-Man, the idol is set up in the Vatican. We have not to expect or to wish that that should happen which is recorded next: 'an angel of the Lord smote him'.² The angel in this case is named Victor Emanuel, but the smiting is only in the way mentioned in the close of that narrative: 'But the word of God grew and multiplied.'³

Protestant controversy might in this matter have allowed to speak as her substitute the whole powerful Opposition of honoured prelates on both sides of the ocean. But each reason against the infallibility of the Pope directs a secret weapon against any official infallibility in the Church. It has been said: 'Not until this dogma was passed was the Church really finished off.' Yes; I grant that this may have *finished* her.

Among the reasons against the new dogma stress was often laid at the Council, upon the fact that it would furnish the enemies of the Catholic Church with new and sharp weapons. I do not belong to these enemies, but merely take my stand in the service of

¹ Acts xii. 22.

² Ibid. 23.

³ Ibid. 24.

a higher power as an opponent of that which does not spring from Christ in this Church. It needs, in fact, only an honest history of the last Council, so far as that is yet possible, in order to agitate Catholicism to its depths. For out of this history two points, irrefutable for every unbiassed person, present themselves : (1) the infallibility of the Pope is a fiction ; (2) the Council which made this fiction into a dogma, ecumenically summoned and carried on up to this point as such, is not infallible. As among the facts of Church history the case of Honorius¹ relentlessly supplies testimony against the infallibility of the Popes, so does the Vatican Council against the infallibility of ecumenical Councils. Without infallibility on the part of the Church, that is to say, without a definite organ thereof, Catholicism breaks up internally, however long or brilliantly it still continues to exist externally.

C. The Pope-King

The temporal dominion of the Pope, and hereby his princely sovereignty, formerly only the point of departure for his strivings after world-wide dominion, was generally considered as the condition of his spiritual independence. The Papacy was held to be the oldest of all existing monarchies, the States of the Church to be the Church's property.

The Popes down to the middle of the eighth century were dependent upon the Roman Empire, and immediately upon the Italian Gothic kingdom. Nevertheless, after Constantinople had become New Rome and the centre of gravity of the kingdom had been shifted to the East, she was at times in a position, by

¹ See p. 263.

reason of her abundant landed property—the appanage and heritage of ancient Roman families which had formerly ruled the provinces—as well as by reason of the importance of her bishop, to take the place of the imperial authority in middle Italy. When Damasus¹ was charged with having reached the Apostle's chair over the dead bodies of his enemies, he demanded as a right that the investigation of the case against him should not be committed to a Roman Council, but that he should be tried by the imperial Council of State, as had been done under the emperor's father with Pope Sylvester², when complaints were laid against him by unrighteous men. Holy Scripture also, he said, furnished a like precedent, since St. Paul, when the viceroy threatened him, appealed to the emperor³ and was sent to the emperor. Gregory the Great⁴ remonstrated against an imperial law, which he judged to be against God's law, since it obstructed entrance into a monastery, closing, like another distinguished servant of God, with the words: 'Yet who am I, that I should say this unto my lord, I that am dust and a worm!'⁵ And he consoles himself with having carried out his duty in both respects: 'I have yielded obedience to the emperor, and for the sake of God I have not concealed my opinion.'

After individual gifts had been made by the Lombard conquerors, the main portion of the States of the Church came into existence as the donation of the two Frankish kings, the supplementary reward for the moral participation in that happy revolution by which the royal house of the Merovingians, though legitimate and in conso-

¹ Bp. of Rome, 366–84. His election was contested by the deacon Ursinus, whom he overcame by force of arms.

² Bp. of Rome, 314–35.

³ Acts xxv. 11.

⁴ See p. 30.

⁵ See Gen. xviii. 27.

nance with the religion of the Franks, was overthrown, and the Carlovingian dynasty founded. Pepin and Charles the Great presented what they had conquered from the Lombards to the emperor, who, in accordance with his historic claims demanded back the land which had been set free, answering that it was not for him that they had risked their lives in that way, but for St. Peter in the person of the Pope to procure the salvation of their souls; and the latter received as patrimony of St. Peter what had belonged up to this time to the ruler of his country. It was an historical necessity that the Papacy with Italy should break loose from the torpid Eastern Empire, in order henceforth, in union with the German family of nations, to provide the charges for carrying on the history of the world. Even apart from the satisfaction of the devotional element, the Frankish kings acquired thereby an influential partner on the other side of the Alps, who yet remained dependent upon them, and in this condition which demanded aid above all against city factions Leo III placed the imperial crown of the Western Roman Empire upon the head of Charles the Great¹—a symbol unrecognized of the transference of the true dominion over the world, the historical development, to the German race. Thus they stood on that occasion before the high altar of St. Peter's face to face, the bearers in their own persons of the two authorities, between which, according to the Middle Ages' fantastic conception of rights, God has divided all dominion: 'the two halves of God, Pope and Emperor.' According to the actual legal position as conceived by the age, the States of the Church were a great episcopal fief, as these were at that time formed in the German states by royal bestowal; the

¹ In 800.

election of the Pope being dependent upon the emperor's sanction, his person subject to the emperor's jurisdiction, himself, however, also a ruler over country and people, the laws put forth in the names of the emperor and the Pope. The Romans swore fidelity to both. The Roman coins bore the impress of both. Rome was the capital of the combined German and Roman Empire.

Among the divisions and the contentions for possession of the throne on the part of the Carolingian reigning house, the Papacy sought to shake off these bonds. For this purpose, a tale that Constantine the Great had given the whole of Italy to Pope Sylvester¹, was materialized into a deed of gift, and John VIII² put forth decrees 'under the emperor Jesus Christ.' The gift of Constantine was a simple matter of restitution, according to the new story that Christ bestowed upon St. Peter, two swords, the supreme priestly and supreme kingly authority.

But the Papacy by this means only came to be subjected to the licence of aristocratic factions. After a century of the deepest ignominy, there was again a Pope who appealed for the help of the King of the Germans to rescue the mother of Churches from acts of violence, and Otho I revived the Empire of Charles the Great (962)³. For a time they contended with each other for the dominion of the world, the Papacy and the Empire, each in its ideal sphere of jurisdiction. In the course of these conflicts the States of the Church, as they gradually were formed by the use of fair means

¹ See p. 330. Constantine first caused Christianity to be recognized by the State; d. 336.

² Pope 872-82.

³ In the year above specified Otho was crowned emperor at Rome by Pope John XII who had called him to his aid against Berengarius II, King of Italy.

or foul towards neighbouring princes and free States, under Alexander VI¹ also by means of poison and dagger, had been recognized as a sovereign possession ; but still many a Pope had to flee the country, driven out either by the emperor or by a rival Pope, or by his own subjects. Some Popes died in exile, some in prison, some were murdered in insurrections or through private revenge.

The Popes prevented Italy from coming altogether into the hands of the Germans, but they summoned the Germans, the French, the Spaniards, one after the other across the Alps. Macchiavelli² in his history of Florence, which he wrote at the direction of him who was subsequently Pope Clement VII, and dedicated to the Pope, pronounced this judgement upon the national policy of the Popes, in the manner of a prophecy: 'All wars which were introduced into Italy at this time by the barbarians, were for the most part occasioned by the Popes, and all barbarians who flooded Italy were summoned by them. This kept Italy in a state of discord and weakness. We shall see how the Popes, first through their excommunications, then with these and at the same time with weapons mingled with indulgences, were objects of fear and of reverence, and how, after they had made an evil use of one or the other of these attributes, they altogether lost the one, and as regards the other were delivered over to the licence of foreigners.'

The Reformation found the papal dominion on its secular side already broken down. Julius II³, who had established the States of the Church in their largest

¹ See p. 104.

² The celebrated Italian statesman and author ; d. 1527.

³ Giuliano della Rovere, Pope 1503-13.

extent, owing to his bold, patriotic, and warlike enterprises appeared only in the light of an Italian prince. His successors could only enter a powerless protest against the treaties of peace, upon which rests the formation of the system of European States, from the Peace of Westphalia¹ to that of Vienna². While the Popes of the Middle Ages, maintaining that it appertained to them to dispossess princes and to confer crowns, deemed no form of government legitimate unless recognized by them; at length under Leo XII in the case of the South American republics, which had revolted from Spain, the principle came to be put into words (1823) that the Curia deals with reference to ecclesiastical matters with every government existing *de facto*, without thereby intending to decide as to its legitimacy.

The security in the tenure of the States of the Church only lasted, after the last sacking of Rome by the host of the Catholic emperor (1527)³, till the convulsions of the first French Revolution seized upon Italy. Under Napoleon I Rome, without the Pope⁴, had sunk into a provincial town. Despoiled of its movable treasures it was no longer even a museum for visitors. For this reason the return of Pius VII was greeted by the Roman populace with joyful hopes, and with scarcely less jubilation than of the Apollo Belvedere⁵, both with their suite, from the French imprisonment.

It results almost by nature that a State whose ruler

¹ In 1648, ending the Thirty Years' War.

² Of these there were several. The author probably means that of 1866, by which Austria ceded Venetia to Italy.

³ Rome was stormed by an army of German and Spanish mercenaries, under Charles, Duc de Bourbon (Constable of France), who perished in the assault.

⁴ Pius VII was imprisoned first in Italy and then in France, 1809-14.

⁵ The famous antique statue in the Vatican.

is a priest, is also administered by priests, and the interests of the people are subordinated to those of the clergy. Thus the Roman prelates, of whom the people said that they were neither fish nor flesh, had possessed themselves of pretty well all the lucrative and influential posts. In earlier times this was checked by the fact that the different provinces, and indeed many cities, had preserved the special constitutional rights under which they had formerly been included in the States of the Church, so that native municipalities with their local privileges withstood the encroachments of the prelatical body. The French interregnum, with the introduction of the Napoleonic code of laws, did away with this confusion of separate rights. The papal government permitted this to take place, and declared, in response to the complaints of the provinces, that the States of the Church are conquered by foreign arms. But inasmuch as the French code also was rejected as being inconsistent with the Canon law, without any native legislation taking place, everything became subject to the caprice of the prelates. It is a well-known fact that the government of the States of the Church since that time was not so much tyrannical as weak and arbitrary, and also had already long been so, with all the weaknesses which an ecclesiastical State of ancient standing, existing in the midst of a wholly alien development of the modern constitution, involves. In the words of a Roman proverb, it was a theocracy limited by anarchy. The traveller in those regions, however, did not notice too much of this. Stately streets had been built, at length even railways introduced, after the Pope had long shrunk from them as the roads of the spirit of the age. At times perhaps the sigh of a tradesman was heard: 'The priests are eating us all up!' (*i preti mangiano*

tutto!), adding that it is very difficult to obtain one's rights by legal process. We were amused (in 1862) by an invitation from the Roman Senate to submit to inoculation for smallpox, with the promise of a small reward (twenty *bajocchi*)¹ to any one who yields to this temptation, and after eight days reports the result. Thereupon it was remembered that at the requisition of the doctors that inoculation should be performed according to law, Leo XII² had replied, that in these wicked days when so few entered Paradise one ought not to prevent the children from dying. The result is, that at Rome smallpox without inoculation makes itself at home. Also we took umbrage at the public inducements to lotteries, which as lately as Benedict XIII³ had been punished with excommunication. More than once a month there stood whole walls covered with attractive gaily coloured lottery numbers in front of numerous shops. All the proprietors of these institutions, including the government, got their living out of the people's passion for play. But apart from the fair desert which, not merely by reason of men's choice, surrounds the eternal city, apart from the numerous beggars, who during the winter assemble in the capital as though for a trade, and perhaps even apart from the little romances of some stories as to robbers, the States of the Church with their population so richly endowed by nature nowhere presented the aspect of a country in a state of dissolution.

Nevertheless the finances were in disorder, and the people, without any stock of hereditary peasants in possession of land, burdened with taxes, while every

¹ The value of a bajoccho is about a halfpenny.

² Pope 1823-9.

³ Vincenzo Marco Orsini, Pope 1724-30.

active share in the State is at any rate dependent upon the priest's cloak. After the suppression of the twenty years' revolution¹ any free expression of political and national life in the whole of Italy was kept in check. The result was that the yearning after this penetrated every part of Italy in the form of secret Orders and conspiracies. The outbreak, to which matters came in the Romagna, following upon the second French revolution (1831), only presented to the mind a sorry republic, which was speedily crushed by means of the incursions of the Austrians. Then Gregory XVI,² under the protection of Austria, held his rigid monkish hand over the States of the Church. At that time Metternich³ said: 'We take for granted that the papal government is the worst in Europe; but since we cannot hunt the Pope out, but have to keep him, we must do this in such a way as will make it possible for us to keep him, and will justify us in the face of public opinion.' The European powers declared the necessity of reform in the government of the States of the Church, but they put up with its not being carried through. It was the feeling already existing that it was impossible to continue longer the form of government which speedily decided the election in favour of Pius IX (1846). The programme of his government was Gioberti's⁴ dream of the Pope, that as the personification of the civilizing and harmonizing principle, the

¹ Counting from Napoleon's campaigns in Italy, commencing in 1796, and followed by his rearrangements of Italian kingdoms. On his final overthrow the old division was nearly re-established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

² Pope 1831-46.

³ An Austrian statesman and diplomatist; d. 1859.

⁴ Vincenzo Gioberti, an Italian philosopher and politician. He was professor of philosophy at Turin, afterwards premier of Sardinia, and ambassador at Paris; d. 1852.

head of a union of Italian sovereigns, establishing the civil freedom and national independence of Italy, he should again become the peaceful arbiter of nations, and the Cross be the banner of freedom; and Italy exultantly hailed Pius IX as the Father of liberty. It was a great change of front. In many pulpits of Italy men were then bidden to 'pray for the soul's health of the Holy Father, that God may protect him from the fate of becoming an atheist!' In Vienna under police supervision a pamphlet was sold on the subject of his mock holiness Pius IX, and a 'free-lance' Pope was spoken of. The aged Metternich wrote to the grey-haired Radetzky¹, that after they had formerly weathered together troublous times, it does not seem that a peaceful old age is to be their lot. 'If great exertions were necessary then, yet those times were not so evil as the present, for we know well how to contend with things corporeal, but it is not easy for us to fight with spectres and creatures of the imagination; and nevertheless this is our unceasing contention, since it has come to pass that a liberal Pope has entered the world.'

All the native princes of Italy saw themselves compelled to liberal concessions. It was in fact the affectionate enthusiasm of the people which forced even the Pope further than he intended in the direction of the forms of a liberal administration. The question arose, however, whether the Holy Father, who had received a dominion absolute in theory, although in point of fact very decidedly limited by the College of Cardinals and ancestral tradition, was permitted to share

¹ Joseph Wenzel Radetzky was an Austrian field-marshal, fought the Sardinians in Italy with varying success, and captured Venice. He was governor of upper Italy, 1849-57, and died the following year.

this with delegates of the people. But even that price did not seem too high, if in return the Papacy, instead of being threatened by conspiracies and only protected by foreign bayonets from the animosity of his people, had in reliance upon them won back lawful sovereignty. In the constitution conferred by the Pope are reserved plenary powers in the government of the Church, as not dependent upon the vote of a lay assembly or the signatures of ministers of state.

His fate was this. In the first place the old officials of his predecessor¹, the Gregorian party, as he termed them, who formed a large portion of the prelates, rancorously opposed the new government, and, owing to the obstinate yet weak character of the Pope, retained the power to retard or stunt all the blessings which can accrue to a people even in the most distant village from a free constitution, so that, correctly speaking, in Rome people enjoyed only forms and hopes. Under such circumstances, while Italy was already excited by these hopes, the democratic revolution broke out in Paris; and the storm which came from that quarter in the spring of the year 1848² roused popular wishes that a Pope could not satisfy, and called up a popular power for which his was no match. He had conjured up the spirits of the revolution over the whole of Italy, and could not now lay them. Lastly, these spirits had encouraged Lombardy and Venice, by the help of the sword of Piedmont, to shake off the long and grievous oppression of the Austrian domination. Through the whole of Italy there quivered the ancient battle cry, to

¹ Gregory XVI.

² The revolution in which Louis Philippe, king of the French, was deposed.

hurl the barbarians across the Alps. The population of the States of the Church demanded a share in the war for the liberation of the common country. Pius could not bring himself to declare war against Austria. In view of the inconvenient desires of the people, a scruple may have half unconsciously obtruded itself upon him as to thrusting away irrevocably this power upon which the Papacy of late years had been supported. To his ideal conceptions it presented itself as a sin that the common Father of Christendom, the earthly representative of the Prince of Peace, should declare war against the Catholic emperor, the apostolic king, and from the balcony of the Quirinal he had flung to the people's outcry for war those last decisive words: 'I desire it not, I dare not, I cannot!'

Italy then abandoned the idea of a papal chief for the time to come. The Roman volunteers, who called themselves crusaders, took the field of their own accord against Austria. The will of the Pope, who was regarded as being now at leisure for prayer, blessing, and pardon, prevailed no longer in the States of the Church; an obtruded ministry of laymen and a Roman popular club contended for the mastery.

When Radetzky¹ in upper Italy had subdued the bodies of his opponents, and by that means had also made a powerful impression upon their minds, the Pope took courage once more, and summoned the late professor Count Rossi² to the ministry, who was calculated, without treason to liberty, to hold the reins of the government tightly. He was struck by the knife of the

¹ See p. 338.

² Count Pellegrino Rossi had been professor of Roman and penal law at Geneva, and had taken a prominent part in Swiss politics. He was appointed French ambassador at Rome in 1845, and became papal premier in September, 1848.

assassin¹, and the Pope besieged in the Quirinal and watched by the people, until he succeeded by escaping disguised to Gaeta² in recovering his free rights of sovereignty.

Thus began his tragic fate. From the Neapolitan stronghold he pronounced a curse upon all his subjects who should take part in the constituent national assembly at Rome, by either electing or being elected. It was formed, however, in full number, and on the night of February 9, 1849, resolved as follows: (1) 'The Papacy is *de facto* and *de iure* deprived of the temporal government of the Roman State. (2) The Roman pontiff will receive all requisite guarantees for independence in the exercise of his spiritual power. (3) The form of government of the Roman State shall be a pure democracy, and will bear the illustrious name of the Roman republic.'

It was not the first time, since the Roman Republic of world-wide rule had perished in the long and terrible civil war, that the Romans had played at having a republic. Mazzini³ instead of the Pope ruled Rome. There came into men's mouths a new and menacing expression, *spapare Italia* (to depapalize Italy), and from mouth to mouth passed the lines of Monti⁴:

Wrest from the Fisher in the holy land
The royal sceptre, bid him as afore
His fish hooks cast upon the naked sand!

But so long as warlike people on the far side of the

¹ Two months later.

² His place of refuge 1848-50. It was in the province of Caserta, Italy.

³ Giuseppe Mazzini, an Italian patriot and revolutionist, devoted for many years to the unification of Italy. He was one of a triumvirate who ruled the above-mentioned short-lived republic, and was driven into exile on the restoration of the papal government in the following year (1849); d. 1872.

⁴ Vincenzo Monti, a noted Italian poet; d. 1828.

Alps believe in the Papacy, and the interests of their bishops demand that a Pope of princely rank shall deal with the Princes of this world as their equal, his temporal power as well will always reassert itself, and therefore a united Italy, which has one will and can enforce it, had to place itself in opposition. Austria occupied the Romagna and the border districts. The new French republic, after a glorious war on the part of Garibaldi, gave the deathblow to the Roman republic, in order that the power and honour belonging to the reinstatement of the Pope might not accrue to Austria alone. When the French national assembly was debating this warlike mission, the Protestant pastor of Paris, Coquerel¹, said: 'It is not only the Pope whom we must support, but the best friend of freedom.'

He was this no more. In Gaeta, where the king of Naples at his feet kissed the cross upon his shoe, it was made plain to him how the smallest concession to liberalism leads to the abyss. His heart was embittered at the ingratitude of his people, who in gloomy silence received him returning under French protection. There came the decade of the reaction. The sentences passed upon the guilty, so far as they had not saved themselves by exile, were dictated by revenge. No more was said about mercy. Everything which had been conceded before was held as forfeited. Once more the States of the Church were considered as conquered by foreign arms. The modest approaches to civil liberty and to the modern ordering of a state which France, the president as well as the emperor², held it needful to propose, were not carried out. The old priestly rule

¹ Athanase Laurent Charles, a member of the constituent and legislative assemblies (1848-9); d. 1868.

² Napoleon III was elected President in December, 1848, and proclaimed Emperor in December, 1852.

with all its abuses was brought back. Pius IX did not perhaps at this time feel his fate in its full bitterness. He surrendered the temporal side, as his minister with the shrewd fair countenance, Cardinal Antonelli ¹, descended from an old brigand family, considered necessary, and he turned back to the pious interests which had previously filled his heart. He ventured to feel himself to be the sacred chief of the Church, in the compass of which the sun never sets. He concluded Concordats, which undertook to renew the dominion of canonical rights against all developments of an altered age, and in his devotion to the cult of the Virgin he had the satisfaction of bringing to a decision a dogma about which the learned monastic schools had in former time long striven, and thus of knowing himself to be under the special protection of the Virgin Mother of God, whom he had glorified ².

The northern and eastern portions of the States of the Church were kept in order by Austrian, Rome and its neighbourhood by French, occupation; the tricolour of France floated over the tower of St. Angelo. For the travellers, who each winter sojourn there in peace together from all civilized nations on either side of the ocean, believers and unbelievers, Rome, an idyllic presence upon the ruins of an epic that forms the history of the world, with its great memories of classical as well as of ecclesiastical antiquity, with its fair artistic life and its solemn ceremonies, with the soft heavens looking down upon a nature that is ever green, became again the solitude that brings refreshment to the heart, no less than the bright hall of assembly, to which the sighs from the dungeons only seldom penetrated.

The other Princes of Italy under the guarantee of

¹ See p. 85.

² See p. 129.

Austria, who considered it the most important matter to punish her rebellious provinces and keep them in a powerless condition, likewise recalled all pledges and promises; only Piedmont held fast to the popular form of constitution, healed by these means the wounds received on the field of battle¹, and in this way continued ever to stand as a figure, at once menacing and enticing before an Italy which was become Austrian. When Napoleon III deemed it necessary to confirm his youthful throne by fresh glory in war, and to prevent France and her army from the danger of ennui, he lent an ear to the sighs of Italy, and on the occasion of the New Year congratulations of 1859 devoted his prefatory discourse to a declaration of war against Austria. Upper Italy had exultantly received his promise to make it free from the Alps to the Adriatic, i. e. to unite Lombardy and Venice with Piedmont. The brave Austrian army, badly led, was defeated in two bloody encounters². The emperor had not reckoned that at the first collision in war the thrones of the minor Princes in Italy would collapse, and that the Romagna would at once avail itself of the departure (to avoid being cut off) of the Austrian army of occupation to select for itself another ruler³ instead of the Holy Father. But he was compelled to allow it in order not to be inconsistent with himself by nullifying the results of his own deeds of arms, and he permitted it in order to compensate for confining those deeds to the iron quadrilateral⁴.

¹ At Novara in 1849 the Austrians under Radetzky (see p. 338) defeated the Sardinians under Charles Albert. The latter abdicated the same day in favour of his son, Victor Emanuel II, who allied himself with France against Austria in the war of 1859 for the liberation and unity of Italy.

² Magenta and Solferino.

³ Victor Emanuel.

⁴ The four fortresses of Legnano, Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona, famous for their strength and strategic importance during the Austrian occupation of north Italy.

that fortified Austria, and to the menaces of attack from Prussia, by leaving Italy in subjection as far as the Adriatic.

What hitherto had been the secret of men's hearts and of conspiracies now rose forthwith out of the turmoil of battles and the dust of collapsing thrones, viz. the thought of the unity and freedom of Italy, no longer in a republic which was a figment of the imagination, but growing up naturally in connexion with warlike Piedmont under Victor Emanuel. Napoleon, like every ruler of France, had only sought to obtain power over Italy, but events are sometimes more powerful, and ideas even more so, than the man who is clothed with the highest authority. The realization of the thought lay yet in the distance. It was effective only in bringing about in due form the separation of the Romagna from the States of the Church. Yet the question already came into clear-cut prominence: 'Is the temporal power necessary to the Pope for the exercise of his spiritual power?' A pamphlet¹, which appeared anonymously in Paris in the style of Laguéronnière, the councillor of state, answered this question in the affirmative with what seemed to be absolutely Catholic conscientiousness, saying that the supreme head of two hundred millions of Catholics cannot be subject to a political power. If the Pope, it was argued, were no independent sovereign, he would be French, Austrian, Spanish, or Italian, and the character of his nationality would take from him the character of his universal spiritual supremacy, for the sake of which it is to the interest of all governments and all nations that he should continuously sit immovable upon the sacred rock which no human

¹ Under the title *Le Pape et le Congrès*. Paris, 1859. [H.]

convulsion is permitted to overturn. But this chief Shepherd of souls on the rock of St. Peter cannot (it is pointed out) rule a State after the methods employed in the public life of a nation; for his laws are bound by the trammels of dogma, his activity is paralyzed through tradition, his patriotism stands condemned by the faith. 'How can the supreme Head of the Church, who excommunicates heretics, be the supreme Head of the State who protects freedom of conscience?' This contradiction is only to be solved by a patriarchal method of rule, practicable in a limited domain: therefore far from a diminution of the States of the Church prejudicing his true interests, rather the smaller the territory the greater the sovereign. Consequently the only important thing is this, that the Holy Father reign supreme in Rome; the rest makes little matter. This territory of the Church is to be without national representation, without an army, without a press, yea, without judicial functionaries. Its inhabitants would live for contemplation, for the arts, for the cult of the ruins, and for prayer; but for the necessary forgoing of all political life they will find an equivalent in a paternal government involving slender taxation, in the moral greatness of their city as the centre of the Catholic faith, and in the brilliance of a Court which is to be maintained munificently by the Catholic powers of Europe. Rome henceforward is to be the sacred metropolis of the world, the asylum of eternal peace within the domain of warring and divided humanity.

The incompatibility of a priestly State with the conditions of modern public life could scarcely be brought more sharply to a head than in this pamphlet of imperial coinage, which, in its eagerness to take away from the Viceroy of Christ the temporal crown of

thorns, with the concluding remark that the apostolic chair stands over a volcano, desired to make Rome a sacred oasis, and to condemn the Roman people to a kind of monastic life, or, as the priests' party in France said, to leave to the Pope Rome and a garden. This was, however, at that time only intended for intimidation, in order to obtain acquiescence in the reduction of territory. Then on the last day of that year (1859) Napoleon wrote to the Pope: 'If the Holy Father were for the sake of the peace of Europe to relinquish these provinces, which for the last fifty years have furnished so much embarrassment to his government, and were to require as compensation from the Catholic powers a guarantee for the rest, I have no doubt as to the immediate return of order. In this case the Holy Father would ensure to grateful Italy peace for long years, and to the Holy See the peaceful possession of the Church's territory.' This was afterwards explained, to meet the approval of the king of Piedmont as the Pope's vicar over the Romagna, to involve the formation of an army corps by the Catholic powers for the maintenance of order in Rome, subsidies on the part of these powers, and finally the promulgation of the reforms in the Roman States already accepted by his Holiness.

It could not remain concealed from the papal government that the mediaeval name of this vicariate was only a form for the surrender of the Romagna. The Pope, on the other hand, appealed to his oath to maintain the inheritance of St. Peter uninjured, as a thing which belongs not to himself, nor to one royal family by inheritance, but to all Catholics. Besides, the domestic and foreign disturbers of the other provinces would only be incited to the same deeds, if

they saw the happy issue which was the lot of the rebels in the Romagna. With regard to the proffered subsidies, the bishop of Orleans¹, who termed the peril of the Papacy the lamentable result of the victories of France, exclaimed: 'Thus you desire to make the Holy Father the first religious official in Europe, the chaplain of Victor Emanuel, from whom, as occasion offered, his quarterly salary might be withheld! better black bread and the catacombs!' The Pope had recourse to the alms of the faithful. This help from the hands of the Catholic people, termed, in accordance with an ancient reminiscence of another kind², Peter's pence, nevertheless showed once again that the Papacy, and especially an unfortunate and resolute Pope, could still always reckon upon sympathy among the Catholic nations on the far side of the Alps and of the ocean, since they did not merely send addresses of condolence with many thousand names, or crosses of those who were not versed in the noble art of penmanship, but also considerable sums of money. The bishops may have directed the clergy, and these in the confessional may have proposed to the women, that on peril of their salvation they should hasten to the assistance of the Holy Father in his need. But it must be admitted that externally it was a voluntary assessment of the faithful in favour of the Papacy. It was employed to levy a papal army destined for the purpose of retaining in allegiance the other provinces disposed to revolt, and to recover the Romagna on the first opportunity. It consisted of some chivalrous believers, chiefly French and Belgians, of Irishmen not precisely members of a temperance society, of vagrants from other nations,

¹ Dupanloup, became bishop in 1849; d. 1878.

² Matt. xvii. 27.

lastly of Austrian soldiers on furlough or discharged for this purpose, under the French general who was at issue with the crown, the hero of Africa¹.

But those who thought and believed in the unity of Italy were constantly becoming more of a force. Garibaldi, with a host of adventurers, conquered the kingdom of Sicily² and proceeded to Naples, where royalty dug its own grave by previous inhumanity and perfidy. When at length the poor young king of the two Sicilies, who had not begun to make reparation for the sins of his forbears, assembled the nucleus of the army, it became evident that either Garibaldi's volunteers would succumb, or the waves of a republican agitation, which were rising high around him, would overflow everything, unless Victor Emanuel with the Piedmontese army took the matter in hand. The route of his army to Naples passed through the eastern provinces of the States of the Church. Moreover, it had been already observed by Napoleon I, that without the possession of these provinces the kingdom of Naples could not be governed in combination with upper Italy. Victor Emanuel secured himself the opportunity of a complete breach with the Pope's government, inasmuch as he required the immediate disbandment of the papal army, as consisting of disguised Austrian soldiers, and constituting a permanent menace to the peace of central Italy. If he began the war before the Pope's answer reached him, yet its import was foreseen. The Pope's army, owing to the superior strength of the Piedmontese, was shattered

¹ Thomas Robert Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, a marshal of France and military writer. He served in Africa 1836-47, was governor of Algeria 1840, and gained the victory of Isly (in Morocco) in 1844; d. 1849.

² In May, 1860. In September of the same year he expelled Francis II from Naples.

in an engagement near Castelfidardo¹; its survivors were obliged to surrender at Ancona. In accordance with a *plébiscite* the Roman Marches and Umbria were, by a decree of December 26, 1860, declared by way of Christmas gift to be a constituent part of the kingdom of Italy—the second instalment of the three-fold partition of the States of the Church.

After Gaeta had fallen, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies was also annexed² by virtue of a *plébiscite*, a national assembly of delegates from all these lands, so long estranged from one another, proclaimed the kingdom of Italy (1861). Austria cried woe upon the king of revolution and of sacrilege. Russia and Prussia declared their severe and decorous disapproval with reference to all this robbery, termed annexation. Expressions of opinion on the part of individual members of parties sounded still stronger. From Munich the hope was expressed that no German prince would bring disgrace upon his country by recognizing the lying kingdom of the Italian robber of crowns. In a poster upon the Churches the women of this city were invited to pray trustfully to the Queen of heaven that she may send her Son, and that He, 'the true Emmanuel, may be pleased to rise up against the false Emmanuel and his associates.'

Victor Emanuel could remind Austria that her government some decades previously had nevertheless by no means considered it a robbery to annex a province of the 'Roman priest';³ he could question Russia as to the legal title, in accordance with which she had

¹ A town in the province of Ancona.

² To the kingdom of Sardinia.

³ An allusion to the Congress of Vienna (in 1815), when Austria regained, among other former dominions, Lombardy and Venice.

taken possession of Poland¹; or Prussia, how it came by Silesia and Saxony², and indeed how it arose itself from land belonging to an ecclesiastical Order³. If we glance over the history of States their origin or enlargement seldom appears to have taken place without a breach of justice or blood-guiltiness. It is a hazardous undertaking to go back to the first legal title to a landed possession: also the States of the Church have not simply arisen by means of fictitious or pious donations of dubious legality. It is difficult to justify by any sort of existing right the transference of a country to another ruler by means of the favourite *plébiscite* in accordance with an accidental or artificially created majority. All the established order of States would be called in question, and in particular the blessing to peace which a monarchy provides would be menaced if some fine morning the people could vote upon the question whether they were satisfied with the old sovereigns, or desired to take to themselves a new shepherd. On the occasion of the voting at Nice it was evident to all the world what trickery might be introduced into the matter in playing this game. Such a vote given by a nation or parliament, where an authority exists as of right, is nothing but a method of revolution, after this authority has been already shattered and become impossible, to bring about in favour of the person who already possesses the power an attestation of this power as based upon the consent of

¹ The kingdom of Poland, formed by the same Congress, was placed under Russian rule.

² Silesia, the possession of which was early disputed between Poland and Bohemia, became incorporated with the latter country in 1355, and with it passed to the house of Hapsburg. In 1815 a large part of the kingdom of Saxony was forcibly ceded to Prussia.

³ The See of Brandenburg, founded by Otho I ('the Great'; d. 973), emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

the people. What took place in Italy was a revolution, which had already long undermined the thrones of its princes. Byron called the Italian revolution the poetry of politics, and although a king is involved in it we do not deduce thence examples of morality and of positive justice. The new king of Italy would be willing to acknowledge all this. He might have lived at ease on the heritage of his fathers in his stately city of Turin. He staked his throne and his life; he surrendered for this the country of his birth, and even it may be his own child; zealous Catholics add, the salvation of his soul. In him is fulfilled the other prophecy of Macchiavelli¹, that if ever a prince raises the banner of united Italy it will be seen with what enthusiasm all crowd around him. It is possible that personal ambition induced him. But to make a nation powerful and free is no ambition of a paltry soul, and as he only entered upon the inheritance of his unfortunate father², who formerly was called the Sword of Italy, as he only had the power to uphold the monarchical and at the same time liberal principle, which alone could put Italy in the way of attaining unity without the horrors of a democratic revolution; so he had reason to boast that he was rendering service to an idea which, far stronger than he, has penetrated the part of his nation which was noblest and most in the prime of life, to the end that this fair Italy, no longer merely a 'geographical expression',³ after long dissension and ill-usage at the hands of native and foreign Princes, might once more as the home of a united people order its affairs in independence, and count for something in the counsels of nations. A people is justified in such aspirations

¹ See p. 333.

² Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, 1831-49.

³ Metternich's phrase.

whenever it has the power and has furnished the sacrifices needful for the attainment. The first king of this people however, for his happy origination of the enterprise, shall never lack the undying crown of posthumous fame; whose laurels already cover the grave of Cavour¹, and hide much that is questionable, although the priest, who did not refuse the consolations of religion to the dying minister that procured the unity of Italy, was harshly treated by the Holy Father.

The Romagna, the Marches, Umbria, all laboriously gathered together in the course of centuries, were lost to the States of the Church. What still remained, the 'Patrimony of Peter', so called in the narrower sense, with very indefinite boundaries, drawn under French connivance, formed with Rome the last remaining third of those States. Their revenue had long since been inadequate; almost every year the burden of debt increased, and the representative of Christ was dependent upon the dynasty of Rothschild. The revenues derived from the rich provinces that were lost had ceased, while their higher ecclesiastical officials, who had fled to Rome, desired to be supported. If a source of aid existed in the shape of Peter's pence, yet they were bound to consider how, in the mediaeval ages of faith indeed, these were enthusiastically accorded by some nations as a definite impost upon each hearth, while the Briefs of the Popes soon afterwards are full of complaints that this payment has been refused or diminished. Therefore it was clearly not to be expected that the pockets of the faithful would be kept open for many years on behalf of the oppressed Viceroy of God, especially after the experience of how

¹ The celebrated Italian statesman who, under Victor Emanuel, achieved the unification of Italy in 1861, dying in the same year.

large a portion of this money had been consumed on the day of Castelfidardo¹, and in the face of the suspicion, albeit unjust, that another portion had been applied to arming the banditti who refused to leave lower Italy at peace. The Pope, no later than his allocation of December 17, 1860, complained to this effect: 'We do not hide from you that, notwithstanding the numerous gifts which are flowing in to us from all parts of the earth, we are without bare necessities.' A new loan was then already needful, increasing the old burden of debt. A further loan of fifty million francs was imposed in 1864, and as the invitation to subscribe to it was circulated by means of the bishops to the clergy, who were bidden to induce the faithful whom God had blessed with gifts of fortune to seize this opportunity generously to aid the Holy Father, it did not appear to be very far removed from almsgiving. If such help, supposing it to be offered, was calculated to gratify the Pope's heart, there is nevertheless also a dubious side to the matter. A Prince may with assurance accept voluntary gifts, if the aim is a great national enterprise; he may also accept them as alms, if, like Pius VII in his imprisonment², his aim is to live upon them in a straitened way, in order to scorn the proffered millions of the usurper. As regards household establishment Pius IX made a modest show, but still he lived as a Prince, and tradition required much magnificence and expense on occasion of his appearances in public. We read in the Roman State newspaper the names of donors published periodically to excite emulation, with the amounts of receipts in Peter's pence, not unfrequently accompanied by a cordial and touching remark. If perchance it ran thus:

¹ See p. 350.

² See p. 334.

'A poor widow deprives herself and her three children of these two dollars and sends them to the Holy Father, begging his apostolic blessing,' this must, in the face of that princely expenditure, have involved something of a shock to himself. The Roman *Popular Calendar* of 1861 declares: 'The Pope is nowadays poor, and has no longer a place to lay his head. Down from the Vatican he calls for alms from the Catholic world for himself and those belonging to him. He who gives to him, gives direct to God Himself. To give to him is only a loan, for God will make it good with interest.' The organ of the Roman Jesuits rhetorically worked out a comparison between the sufferings of Christ and those of His Viceroy. Certainly the Pope did not lack sorrows; but when he was seen thus setting forth arrayed in gold and precious stones in his newly gilded state-carriage, five footmen in lace-adorned liveries standing on it behind (for the carriages of the cardinals have only three of these), drawn by six magnificent steeds with purple trappings, and surrounded by his brilliant noble-guard, who compelled all male occupants of carriages coming along the road to dismount, one's first thought might well be of those pre-Reformation picture-books which represent, on one side, the Crucified One and the Apostles' life of poverty, on the other, the splendid life of the prelates of that day. In any case, to adopt the language of St. Bernard, the Pope then appeared more as the successor of the emperor Constantine than as that of the poor fisherman Apostle. If the minister of finance, from whom there was no attempt at concealment, made from time to time representations to the Pope with regard to unnecessary expenditure, he was in the habit of folding his hands, and of saying, with his eyes turned

towards heaven: 'God will provide for us.' Meanwhile the year's deficit in 1870 amounted to thirty millions, and the yield from Peter's pence had diminished also to the half of that of its fruitful years.

A small fraction of the priesthood was seized with national enthusiasm. In Sicily and Naples a crowd of monks had attached themselves in arms to Garibaldi. The bishops, indeed, showed themselves cold or hostile towards the patriotic movement, and as the government and law courts of Piedmont were not used to succumb to the bishop's staff, several bishops were arrested, deprived, and banished. But a confederacy of the inferior clergy, under the unassuming name of a union for mutual assistance with its principal centres at Naples and Florence, termed in the papal allocution of July 23, 1861, a flagitious union, had in mind reforming ideas as to the constitution of the Church, and in an address with thousands of signatures adjured the Pope to renounce his temporal authority. If we consider that these clergy were harassed to the utmost by their bishops, and by others proud of their own loyalty were stigmatized as traitors, the scum of the priesthood, we may presume that this party has many more secret adherents. Some priests belonging to the Pope's *entourage* publicly took sides with the patriotic movement, some cardinals passed as their secret friends, and many ecclesiastical office-bearers in the States of the Church appeared to be already considering how they could show that they were not unprepared to accept the new master.

Under such circumstances it was not surprising if Pius IX contemplated leaving his city. He may indeed have smiled mournfully over the thought of a removal to Jerusalem. As far as the dignity of the place goes

a Pope could not complain, and the protocol of a European congress could easily have made him a priest-king after the order of Melchizedek¹ over the land of promise of former days; but if a Catholic people was not given him at the same time, the successor of the Apostles would first have to convert the Mohammedans, Jews, and Greeks, in order not to stand altogether outside the Catholic world of the West. He had also reason for declining the mediaeval hospitality of Avignon², but Germany would have received the Holy Father with respect, and the castle of Bamberg³, accustomed to ecclesiastical rule, near the lofty cathedral in which there already lies interred a distinguished German Pope⁴, would have guaranteed him worthy hospitality and full liberty to carry out his resolves. England also offered him naval transport and hospitality in Malta, there to await in peace the passing of the storm. The Papacy, according to the legal view established in the Middle Ages as well as according to experience, was not confined to Rome. In former time it had existed for seventy years in a foreign country. The successor of St. Peter duly elected as bishop of Rome would be as legitimate in Berlin as in Rome. Since, however, in popular belief St. Peter's succession is tied up to the See of Rome, since only the city on the Tiber, on which, in spite of all ancient memories, the ecclesiastical character has deeply impressed itself, possesses, through the piety of Popes, princes, and peoples, this crowd of Catholic institutions for a world-wide Church, it follows that a longer distance from that spot, nay,

¹ Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1.

² See p. 290.

³ The castle of the former prince-bishops. The bishopric was founded by the emperor Henry II in 1001, and secularized in 1801.

⁴ Clement II; d. 1047.

even the attempt at a transplanting from its native home, would impair the ecclesiastical significance of the exiled Papacy; and it is a grievous thing to eat the bread of the stranger in a distant land. Yet the kingdom of Italy too has need of coming to an arrangement with the Papacy, for so long as the Italian bishops governed by the Pope maintain a hostile attitude towards the Italian government, the youthful State will never arrive at peace, and an ecclesiastical cleavage would be the only other expedient—a menacing one, and full of danger to both sections. Therefore, the return of a Pope, not exactly triumphant yet joyfully greeted, who, even though a new Delos¹ did not rise out of the sea for him, might perhaps be elected like Pius VII in the wave-washed Church of St. George², would be the upshot of the whole matter, Rome remaining the city of the Papacy, whereby it has an ever present element of the universal, and pervades all history. At the same time as the capital of a great kingdom it would have ripened to a new, inherent majesty, even though it lost something in respect of the melancholy charm of its lonely ruined sites. For it must not be overlooked that among both Catholics and Protestants there are to be found admirers of the temporal power of the Pope from an aesthetic or archaeological interest only, as one wishes to preserve a Gothic cathedral or Byzantine basilica, even when half ruined, as a monument of art. And, personally, I should

¹ According to Greek mythology called out of the deep by Poseidon, and secured by Zeus to the bottom of the sea by adamant chains, 'that it might be a secure resting-place for Leto, for the birth of Apollo and Artemis' (Smith's *Class. Dict.*).

² St. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, where his portrait in memory of the event (celebrated there in order to secure Austrian protection) still hangs over the entrance door.

not like, with William von Humboldt¹, to condemn the Roman Campagna to lie utterly waste, in order worthily to gird the ruins of the old capital of the world in solitary beauty. Perhaps all who have there experienced pleasant days with some power of realizing the intellectual interest of the place, and who hope yet again to experience the same, would feel with me that something was sadly wanting if Rome were no longer the city, at once holy and unholy, of the Papacy with all that thereon depends. But the question here is not one about agreeable wishes, nor about archaeology or attractive art, but about a nation, about the bitter earnest of actual life; and he who has not the power of ruling over living men has no right therefore to make them into mummies. For this the Roman populace have neither capacity nor inclination. When in 1798 fourteen cardinals went in festal procession to St. Peter's to sing the *Te Deum* for the re-establishment of the Roman republic, Pius VI² refused to flee, on the ground that he was not merely a Prince but a bishop as well, whose duty it was not to desert his flock, who desired to die beside the graves of the Apostles. Pius IX also, save that he was led by other motives, declared that, so long as there still remained to him any portion whatever of the States of the Church, in order to carry out in independence his sacred calling, he was bound by remaining at his post to uphold intact the temporal rights of the Church. In fact, there is no one for whom his departure would be more opportune than for the king of Italy.

It is a hard lot to be the sovereign of a people who

¹ William, brother of the more celebrated Frederick, was a German philologist and author, who from 1801-8 was Prussian minister resident at Rome; d. 1835.

² Giovanni Angelo Braschi, Pope 1775-99. In 1798 he was carried a prisoner to Valence in France, where he died.

is only kept in his place and protected by foreign troops. Pius IX, it is true, commended the people of Rome on account of their devotion to the temporal rule of the Papacy. These were not the words of an infallible Pope. Every one knew that submission to his temporal rule was not forthcoming at all. The Pope's government since 1849 had acquiesced in the French occupation, which was so disagreeable and, owing to the consciousness of its indispensable character, so overbearing. Only it was to be remarked that the dissatisfaction in Rome was not so universally prevalent as before the Italian war. Influences had been brought to bear from foreign countries and by means of the confessional. Even in his own country a party had been formed in support of a persecuted yet steadfast Pope. But it must have struck one who knew both parts of the land as ludicrous when in highly Catholic circles mention was made of the Piedmontese beast of prey, which had turned Italy into a waste and made it to be the most unfortunate of countries. In the midst of this misery, they said, there was still one small piece of the country left where the people felt themselves to be well off, and where the proofs of their dependence upon the Papacy lay open to the day, and this piece is the States of the Church.

These States in their latest reduced form, which does not hinder the connexion between upper and lower Italy, might, in itself considered, have been allowed to continue without scruple. Nevertheless it would always be politically dependent, as it always has been dependent, upon a power commanding at once upper and lower Italy. The hardship appeared to lie only in the fact (which, however, seemed insurmountable) that an actual kingdom of Italy can have no other capital than

Rome. The great hindrance to the unity of Italy, the mutual estrangement of the various races which for many hundreds of years in different States involved wholly different histories, although it had entailed painful experiences upon all, after unexpectedly subsiding owing to the pressure contained in the act of union, is augmented, and presents itself as it were in a personal form in the large towns which hitherto have been the seats of separate governments. Towns that were great and rich, or that were still resting upon proud memories, such as Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, Palermo, found it impossible either to recognize as the capital city a town on the north-west border of Italy¹, where as lately as a generation before people murdered Italian in a manner scarcely intelligible, and French was used by preference, or to send their delegates to a national assembly there. It was equally difficult for Turin to see its way to acknowledge, as the future metropolis ranking above itself, one of those towns which its king had annexed. Capitals and races abdicate still more reluctantly than kings. All the discontent, which after the first enthusiasm was aroused in the mind of Naples, whether evoked naturally or by artificial means, and directed their hopes indeed not to King Francis², nor to Murat³, but to the King Mazzini⁴, was nourished on the cry that it was desired to act the Piedmontese (*piemontezzare*) from Turin outside Italy. Under these circumstances no expedient presented itself except the old capital of the world in the midst of Italy with its classical and mediaeval memories. This Rome is not

¹ Turin was Victor Emanuel's former capital, when king of Sardinia.

² See p. 349.

³ Brother-in-law of Napoleon I; he became king of Naples in 1808.

⁴ See p. 341.

merely a place. It is also an idea. Before the majesty of the Eternal City all the towns of Italy were able and willing to bend without prejudice to their honour.

Garibaldi duly felt this when he announced his intention shortly to crown Victor Emanuel as King of Italy on the Capitol. Moreover it was on the part of that heroically minded man a foolish fancy, which brought upon him and his King the grievous day of Aspromonte¹, at once to threaten Austria and desire to attack France; for it was not the 15,000 French who held Rome in occupation, and over whose bodies lay the road to the Capitol, who were to be considered—a corporal with fifteen men under such circumstances would have been almost equally effective—inasmuch as all France stood behind them, and as long as she had no other war to embarrass her could at any time within fourteen days disembark an army of 100,000 men at Cività Vecchia. But even in the unwisdom of the populace, from whom the cry continuously sounded: ‘To Rome, to Rome!’ there was contained the pressing sense of the fact that without its capital city the kingdom of Italy still existed half in fancy. To this is to be added what, soon after the surrender of Gaeta, presented itself in all its clear-cut suggestiveness: the banished King of Naples took up his abode at Rome in his beautiful Farnese palace. Thence emanated consignments of arms, money, and troops, which introduced into the Neapolitan territory a banditti warfare with its atrocious deeds, which in their turn called forth atrocious remedies, and sullied with murder and conflagration Italy’s exaltation. To speak in the language of French reminiscences, Rome had been made a Cob-

¹ A mountain in Calabria. Near it Garibaldi was defeated and captured by Italian troops in 1862.

lantz¹, Naples a Vendée², and the Roman State journal revelled almost every day in pictures of Piedmontese horrors and the victories of royalist bandits. It was natural that Pius IX gave a friendly reception to the banished King³, whose father had bestowed respectful hospitality upon the Pope in his flight; and Rome has already been long a resort for dismissed dynasties. It was also natural that the Pope disregarded, where he did not actually patronize, measures intended to prepare the way for the restoration of the legitimate throne in Naples, and at the same time the reconstitution of Italy as it had been. At length, seeing that this was impossible without the connivance of the French occupation, it was thought that the emperor was perhaps not unwilling to maintain in the Neapolitan territory a state of affairs which, while calling for French interference from motives of humanity, might, with the elevation of his cousin⁴ to the throne of Naples, put an end to the unity and independence of Italy.

There came to our ears from the Vatican pathetically mournful allocutions, whenever any fresh injustice was to be complained of, concerning the bitterness of these times; in general, however, passing on to a comforting reliance upon the intercessions of the most blessed Prince of the Apostles and of the immaculate Mother of God, 'that the hand of God may inflict a terrible punishment upon the enemies of the Church, and order a dread example for the obdurate.' The Pope called

¹ The rendezvous of the French *émigrés* at beginning of the first Revolution.

² Where an unequal contest was carried on by the Royalists against the French Republic, 1793-6.

³ Francis II, son of Ferdinand II.

⁴ Prince Napoleon ('Plon-plon'), son of Jerome, who was brother to Louis, Napoleon III's father.

down the vengeance of God 'upon the handful of rebels vomited forth from hell', who are venturing to upset the throne of legitimate Princes, and upon the King, 'who, in league with them, has plundered the sanctuary of the Church, and desires to drive the successor of St. Peter from his last rock.' Yet he did not dare to pronounce in all solemnity against this last the excommunication, to behold which curious Englishmen had already arrived in Rome. As far as Canon law went there was scarcely ever a Prince more ripe for this gloomy ceremony. It is true that as early as 1860 Pius pronounced in general terms the great ban of the Church upon all usurpers and intruders, their abettors and helpers' helpers, who have seized on the inheritance of the Prince of the Apostles, and also that the Bulls of excommunication are declared to exercise altogether the same effect as though those who are dealt with by them were expressly named. But no individual applies this to himself, and according to our present custom it is not applied necessarily to any individual. The Holy Father himself, in response to formal inquiries on the part of the faithful, declared that certainly Victor Emanuel was subjected to ecclesiastical punishment, but that Catholics may not be disquieted it is permitted them 'to regard their King as an excommunicated person who is tolerated and not openly denounced', i.e. to deal towards him as if he lived absolutely at peace with the hierarchy. Once on an earlier occasion this King was grazed by such a lightning stroke of excommunication on account of monastic property confiscated in Piedmont. When immediately afterwards he paid a visit to Paris the French bishops, at a signal from the emperor, greeted him ceremoniously on his route, and had the honour of

being invited to his table. Against Napoleon I, after he had taken away the States of the Church and incorporated them with France, the excommunication was at any rate pronounced in a secretly drawn-up brief, to be delivered into the hands of the faithful. When the emperor heard of it, he said: 'Does the Pope think that I am Louis le Débonnaire¹ (in Germany we call him 'the Pious'), or that at the excommunication the weapons fall from the hands of my soldiers?' This excommunication, definite and addressed by name, has not been pronounced against the King of Italy, since the papal Court saw that this ban would die away without effect, and thus only compromise the Pope's influence; a testimony how much the vast power of civilization has moulded and humanized even the mediaeval Papacy. A more powerful method than the excommunication with omission of the name may have come to light, if it be true that the Catholic general assembly at Munich resolved in a constitutional fashion upon a universal spitting in the presence of the Italian premier; a new popular sort of excommunication.

What still remained of the States of the Church was held and guarded by the troops of 'the parvenu', to crown whom, as Pius VII had crowned his illustrious uncle², and Leo III Charles the Great, Pius IX always prudently refused. He never complied with his counsels, and made every sort of bitter complaint in the Vatican against him, as the one who had brought all this confusion upon Italy and all this harm upon the States of the Church. Napoleon III had apparently just as little interest in the independence of the Pope based

¹ Son of Charles the Great, whom he succeeded as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 814-40.

² The first Napoleon.

upon his temporal power, as in the independence of Italy to be based upon its unity; but through the development of circumstances he was forced to pretend that both lay equally at his heart, and that his embarrassment arose only from the difficulty of reconciling the two. Moreover, there were plain reasons explaining vacillations in his policy, so that it was a saying with regard to him that he was still uncertain whether he desired to buy or to sell the Pope. The Catholic party in France is, according to their religious composition in the towns, almost wholly of the female sex, but the bishops dominate the clergy, and clergy the country folk, which, in a State which rested upon universal suffrage alongside of the absolute rule of an individual, could by means of a simple vote produce great embarrassments to the government. This party raised bitter complaints against the destitution to which the emperor had already by his remissness reduced the Papacy. It had essayed to arouse all pious emotions against him, as one who might have prevented sacrilegious hands from plundering the hallowed heritage of St. Peter, and yet does not prevent it. Not in vain, they say, does it stand in the Scripture—and they interpret the passage as being of the rock Peter: ‘He that falleth on this stone shall be broken to pieces.’¹ For a long time they put an end to peace in the emperor’s own house. The Spanish woman² said: ‘You may call it what you will, instinct, presentiment, or superstition: I am convinced that my son will not mount the throne, if we forsake the Holy Father.’ People spoke of a Judas-kiss which would deceive

¹ Matt. xxi. 44.

² Eugénie, wife of Napoleon III, and daughter of Don Manuel Fernandez di Montijo; b. at Granada, Spain, in 1826.

no one. The bishop of Poitiers closed a pastoral directed against the writings of Laguéronnière¹ with an apostrophe on the subject of Pilate, who also said: 'I am guiltless of the blood of this righteous man,' and washed his hands², and who nevertheless, stamped with the brand of murderer of the Son of God, is nailed to the pillory of our Confession of faith.

Laguéronnière had in a more recent public letter³ supported the emperor's policy, arguing that the aim of the emperor at the outbreak of the war had been to place the Holy Father in exalted neutrality at the head of a league of Italian Princes; his simple aim to secure Italy in her independence, to defend the Pope in the exercise of his temporal power, and thus to reconcile Italy and the Papacy. But (he adds) the latter has only shown sympathy for Austria, and scarcely veiled ingratitude has become the prelude of open hostility. While events then proceeded, and the emperor still constantly sought a peaceful solution, the perversity of the Court at Rome listens to nothing, concedes nothing, and refuses even to publish the reforms that might be accorded, until the Romagna has been again subdued. Only those foot soldiers have been enlisted, and deputations of such Frenchmen received in the Vatican, as acknowledged themselves in the first instance subjects of the Pope and afterwards only of their Prince, and in France a league has been concluded under the mask of piety between the sons of Voltaire and the sons of the Crusaders. 'The Court of Rome can perceive to-day whither these unhappy influences, which it preferred to the promptings of the emperor, have led. Isolated in Italy, forsaken by

¹ See p. 345.

² Matt. xxvii. 24.

³ *La France, Rome, et l'Italie*, Paris, 1861. [H.]

Austria, bereft of its provinces, reduced to a scrap of territory which it would lose to-morrow were it not secured by the protection of our arms, all the sources of help upon which it relied are gradually disappearing. It considered the rule of Austria as incapable of displacement, and in less than two months of war the Austrian power was driven to the other side of the Mincio. It sought allies among Princes who were estranged from their people, and these Princes are in exile. It had built up an army at great expense, and, with the exception of the French, who are brave under every standard, these armies fled before they were conquered. It appealed to the emotions of conscience, and this voice, which even now would set the world in motion, if it were uplifted from the chair of St. Peter to defend a Divine truth, is everywhere met only by indifference.'

Antonelli considered it needful himself to answer the complaints which, he declares, are being hurled against the exalted and venerable Head of the Catholic Church at the moment when, aimed at by enemies of every class, the whole world looks with amazement and lamentation upon him as the victim of the rarest ingratitude and disloyalty. His conscience did not permit him to comply with the advice as to his vicariate over the Romagna, for the principle which lay at the bottom of such a surrender threatens the rest of the papal States as well, which he is bound by solemn oath to preserve unimpaired to the Church, and inasmuch as thereby he would have handed over a third part of his subjects to the tyranny of an immoral, irreligious party. Precisely in order to avoid the charge of perversity the Holy Father accepted the reforms proposed by the French government, although

the revolutionary party had declared that they would be ineffective, remembering only this that both his own dignity, from which a ruler ought never to derogate, and the welfare of the population demand that they should not be published till the revolutionary provinces are reduced to order.

If this kind of language appeared like childish obstinacy men were nevertheless bound to recognize, after the Romagna had once revolted and found powerful protection, that even the most liberal constitution which the Papacy would offer was destined to be as little successful in exorcising the impending fate as was Francis of Naples in saving his throne by the same means. Napoleon, who, in the dreams of his youth, had conspired and borne arms on behalf of the freedom of Italy, who at that time, when he was nobody, had represented to Gregory XVI the necessity of renouncing the temporal power, and of taking his stand on the Gospel alone, 'the most liberal of all books,' who also could not have desired to allow completely to expire the glory of a deliverer of Italy, for which a noble portion of the French people has a regard; nor is it the least among the distinguished titles which the uncle left to the nephew—this Napoleon maintained that his policy had been always the same, to gratify the national hopes of Italy and to determine the Pope to become her support rather than her opponent. The Roman question, he points out, must receive a final solution, for it is not only in Italy that it disturbs men's minds. Everywhere it carries testimony to the same moral disorder, since it touches that which lies nearest to men's hearts, their religious and their political faith. This solution has hitherto been frustrated by means of two extreme parties; the one forgets the

just claims of a power existing for a thousand years, the other condemns a part of Italy to perpetual immobility and subjugation.

A consequence of these discussions was the Convention of September 15, 1864, between Napoleon and Victor Emanuel. In this (1) Italy pledges herself not to attack the existing papal territory, and to prevent by force any attack upon it from outside. (2) France is gradually to withdraw her troops, according as the army of the Pope shall be reorganized. This evacuation of the Roman territory is to be completed within two years. (3) The government of Italy renounces all opposition to the organization of the Pope's army, even if it be composed of Catholic volunteers, so long as it appears adapted to the upholding of the authority of the Holy Father and of domestic peace, and for the protection of the frontier, provided that this armed force be not of a kind that can degenerate into a means of attack. (4) Italy declares herself prepared to take over a part of the debts of the hitherto papal State. Moreover, the condition which should give force to this treaty was only laid down in a protocol as a purely internal measure—the transference of the capital of Italy from Turin to Florence. The idea and the consequences of this Convention were interpreted differently by the two sides. Napoleon caused it to be announced, 'in opposition to the sentimental and platonic enthusiasm of the Italians for Rome,' that by this treaty the resolution of the Italian parliament of 1861, which declared Rome the capital of Italy, was annulled: he made this announcement for the satisfaction of the clerical party in France. The Italian negotiator of the treaty declared that Italy thereby certainly renounced a forcible occupation of Rome, but by no

means the moral methods of civilization and progress, which, however, may at times turn out to be something immoral.

The September Convention was carried through in the midst of the indignation of the impaired parochial interests of Turin and all Piedmont, which, at least, had the excuse that they would have submitted themselves to the true capital of Italy, marked out for the fulfilment of her destiny. When Florence had become the capital the last French troops were embarked at Cività Vecchia; and Florence in the midst of Italy, in the blooming valley of the Arno, with her ancient fame of civilization, of artistic glories, of purity of speech, with her cultured and industrious population, might perhaps, if there had been time to lay foundations and extend it by new buildings, have availed as a satisfaction of the national longing, and accordingly as an insurance for papal Rome. To change the quarters of the capital of a great kingdom is no light matter. It cost the country millions, and something more than money, which is not so easily recovered. Moreover, Rome with a restless population, with but little of the character of civilians, lies in a waste, however beautiful this be. For three months in the year men and women, whoever can escape from it, seek to avoid the Roman malaria. In former days Rome was surrendered by its own imperial masters, and that not merely for the sake of Constantinople.

Nevertheless as the King's government disclaimed the sincere renunciation of Rome, so too in the heart of the people the yearning for the true capital of Italy was not extinguished. Florence was only regarded as a night's lodging on the way to Rome. When through the war treaty with Prussia the formidable quadrilateral

fortification of Lombardy with Venice¹ fell into the bosom of the kingdom of Italy, and thus only the remnant of the States of the Church was lacking for the unity of Italy, Garibaldi summoned his volunteers (in 1867) for the march to Rome. The Italian government either had not the power or the will to hinder him. But France saw the Convention thereby broken, and sent her regiments speedily across the sea. The volunteers already saw the cupola of St. Peter's standing out from the undulating plain. Near Mentana² they were overthrown and shattered. At the same time on Napoleon's side it was a test of the new chassepot weapon, and papal Rome was once again saved. From that time onwards the French did not indeed hold Rome itself, but blockaded the seaport of the States of the Church, and their generals fortified Rome against a surprise. Open and secret endeavours for a peaceful issue were practised in many ways with Pius IX. He was urged by a voluntary and grand resignation to give peace to Italy, and not to put before his people the terrible alternative of renouncing either their reverence for the chair of St. Peter or their claim to be a united and free nation. They appealed to him thus: 'Kings have been seen to abdicate in order to avoid the bloodshed of a civil war; wherefore should the common Father of the faithful, the Viceroy of Him Who surrendered His life for the salvation of mankind, not voluntarily renounce a trifling temporal power, by means of which he can no longer do good and which is the cause of such great divisions?' It was thought that everything had been said when they were both reminded, Victor Emanuel

¹ See p. 344.

² A small town thirteen miles north-east of Rome.

that he was a Catholic, Pio Nono that he was an Italian. The papal government answered to all attempts at mediation: 'No dealings with robbers!' Yet more than one papal government, e.g. Pius VII, dealing with actual robbers, had granted them a year's pay.

Moreover the Abbot Isaia published a correspondence: secret negotiations with Antonelli in February, 1861, with regard to the conditions offered by Cavour. The Pope was to retain sovereignty over the patrimony of St. Peter, and draw therefrom a competent civil list, but to hand over the temporal government for ever to the King of Italy as his vicar. An annual income of 10,000 scudi was secured to each Italian cardinal, also a seat and a vote in the senate of the kingdom. At the same time special privileges for Antonelli and his family were hinted at. He apparently accepted the arrangement, since he only demanded trustworthy guarantees for what was promised and for the full independence of the spiritual government, but suddenly negotiations were broken off. After the inconvenient publication a year later from Turin, he absolutely denied it through the official journal. It is, however, less likely that Isaia, formerly secretary to cardinal d'Andrea, and at that time assistant to Passaglia on his journal *Mediatore* in Turin, for the reconciliation of Italian with Catholic interests, cleverly forged these letters which bear a clearly marked impress of genuineness, than that the cardinal, as diplomatists readily do, contemplating possible eventualities listened to these proposals with some appearance of favour, but then had reasons, either in view of a remonstrance of the French ambassador whose secret police had detected there something

which took a form independent of France, or in any case in view of the Pope, absolutely to deny them.

Once more Ricasoli¹ in a deferential letter (August, 1861) appealed to the patriotism of the Pope that with evangelical disregard of worldly goods and in the historically attested capacity of the Church to accommodate itself to every advance of society, he should come to a reconciliation, as representative of a God of peace, with a people that sincerely desires to believe on him and to reverence him, and should bestow a fresh glory upon the apostolic chair. 'If you desire to be greater than earthly kings disembarass yourself from the pettinesses of this kingdom which make you to take pattern from them. Italy will provide you a secure abode, a complete freedom, a fresh greatness. It respects the supreme Head of the Church, but it cannot stay its career for the sake of the Prince. It desires to remain Catholic, but it desires to be an independent and free nation. Harken to the prayer of this favourite daughter, and you will gain more power over souls than you have as Prince, and from the height of the Vatican, when you extend your hands in blessing over Rome and the wide world, you will see the nations, re-established in their rights, bow themselves before you as before their protector.' The proposed conditions were: personal sovereignty of the Pope in the traditional forms, with full liberty for all actions as Head of the Church by virtue of Divine and canonical right; freedom to deal with all bishops and with the faithful, and to hold Councils where he may choose; a fixed income according to mutual agreement; the cardinals to have the title of Prince. Further, there were attractive

¹ Baron Bettino Ricasoli, premier of Italy, 1861-2 and 1866-7; d. 1880.

ecclesiastical concessions : bishops and clergy in the exercise of their spiritual office were to be independent of any interference from the government ; the King was to renounce all rights of patronage and nomination of bishops. As all intercourse with the Court of Rome was interrupted, the intervention of the French government was sought for the delivery of this proposal, but it was declined by it as useless. After the papers relating to it had been laid before the Italian parliament they could not at any rate have remained unknown to the Holy Father, if in addition to the breviary he also read a newspaper.

He seemed, however, to have no lofty conception of the unity of Italy. When shortly before Shrove Tuesday, 1862, he received the Lenten preachers, he said to them : ‘ As regards the dreams of Italian unity and the re-establishment of a rule that has passed away, these are chimeras, by which only the crazy allow themselves to be deceived.’ In front of every movement which aimed at a renunciation he interposed the ancient sword of conscience, *non possumus*, we cannot ! which is only a variation on the fateful speech from the balcony of the Quirinal¹—the profession of impotence, and, at the same time, of power founded upon the consciousness of a Divine right. We need not doubt the religious sincerity of these words, although Prince Napoleon might maintain that under *non possumus* is to be understood an expectation of the Austrians, and in fact an appeal to them. In the Roman State calendar there was still no kingdom of Italy to be found, but, just as hitherto, Sardinia, Naples, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, &c., as in the previous century for a long time there was still to be found there no King of Prussia, but

¹ See p. 340.

only a Margrave of Brandenburg. Once, however, it happened that the Pope was made uneasy at the thought that there was nothing said in Holy Scripture as to his territorial possessions, and that no general Council had declared their necessity. It was reserved for the acuteness of the Jesuits to discover a Biblical basis: 'Since Christ's spiritual kingdom is not of this world, it is for that very reason needful that the Vicar of Christ should have in this world a temporal kingdom.' To obtain a conciliar proof the high church party had recourse to our countryman, Father Theiner¹, prefect of the Vatican archives, not otherwise a favourite with them since his work written in defence of Clement XIV². He hit upon a means whereby he could point to the resolutions of two ecumenical Councils, as recognizing the States of the Church in their necessity as a sacred ecclesiastical possession. The one is the well-known excommunication at the Council of Lyons³, directed against our great Hohenstaufen, Frederick II⁴, as a robber of churches, because among other misdeeds he also held in his possession the greatest portion of the States of the Church. The other consists in letters from the Council of Constance⁵; four to the citizens of Corneto⁶, which, having been up to this time quite unknown, Theiner, with his sharp scent for original records, discovered in the dusty town archives of Corneto; three to the commune of Viterbo⁷, from which it is clear that

¹ See p. 180.

² *History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV*, published in 1853.

³ i.e. the first Council of Lyons, 1245.

⁴ Crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1220. He continued the policy of his house (that of Hohenstaufen) in aiming at the union of Italy and Germany into one Empire; d. 1250.

⁵ See p. 19.

⁶ A town forty-four miles north-west of Rome, the seat of a bishopric.

⁷ Forty-one miles north-north-west of Rome, with a fine cathedral.

at that time during the vacancy in the papal chair (*sede vacante*) the Council exercised the rights of government over these towns of the States of the Church.

I cannot find that there is much in this to substantiate the supreme necessity that the Pope should possess territory. Frederick II did not, according to that evidence, aim at breaking up the States of the Church. He only took possession of them, in order to obtain favourable terms in the conflicts as to the claims both of the Empire and his Neapolitan State¹. So, too, he specified for his successor on the throne his last wishes in this sense: 'That he should maintain and re-establish all the rights of the holy Roman Church, our mother, which we unlawfully hold, if she herself as a compassionate and pious Mother does not neglect to secure him his rights.' The Council of Lyons in the great war sided, as was natural, with the Pope, and in accordance with Canon law confirmed the sentence of excommunication directed against a Prince, who had used much violence towards the Church. The Council of Constance (which we are not exactly accustomed to see appealed to by Rome), after it had dealt with three Popes² either by dispossessing or compelling them to abdicate, was perhaps obliged to assume the government of the States of the Church, which otherwise during the vacancy appertains to the College of Cardinals. These cardinals however, chosen by three opposition Popes, all of doubtful legitimacy, did not then possess adequate authority for the purpose, just as also for the same reason they did not exclusively elect the future Pope. Accordingly, this Act at Con-

¹ He was son of Constance, heiress of the two Sicilies, and had assumed their government in 1208.

² Gregory XII, Benedict XIII, John XXIII. See p. 269.

stance proves only that a Council, where need exists, can set up a Pope, but the necessity of the temporal possessions is thereby in no way taught and hallowed. That the States of the Church were held to be Church property is obvious, but the men belonging to them must not for that reason be excluded for all time like bondsmen from the political development of their nation. It was also urged that the States of the Church belonged to the whole Catholic Church, whose aims they serve. But that is nothing peculiar to the States of the Church. Rather it is the high Catholic legal view that every possession of an individual Catholic Church or other ecclesiastical foundation belongs to the whole Church, so that the local body is only the holder for the time being of the title of possession, and on its dissolution the property reverts to the Church collectively for further appropriate disposal. Church property in the form of dominion over land and people, if it has come into existence by means of political circumstances and acts, is also capable by the same means of being legitimately remodelled, as the measures of secularization in Germany after the Peace of Westphalia¹ prove. If the Pope's Church protested also against these, general history nevertheless pronounced them valid. Divine penalties have not on that account overtaken our country. Moreover, the property of our spiritual Princes has always, as really as the States of the Church, been in theory important for the service of the Church, as if they were German States of the Church on a small scale; but in point of fact, and rightly so, what remained over for the direct service of the Church was, as far as possible, separated from State property and other

¹ In 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' War.

revenues of the country. The last judicial act of the expiring German kingdom on the occasion of secularization strongly emphasized this separation, so as at least to testify at the last its goodwill to preserve for the Church what really belonged to her.

The Pope felt quite comfortable in view of the decisions of the Councils of Lyons and Constance. Nevertheless to meet the apprehension or hope that the bishops invited to Rome at Whitsuntide, 1862, for the festival of the great canonization would form an ecumenical Council and give a dogmatic decision, he recognized at that time that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is no dogma; and, moreover, it would be much too preposterous if a man's salvation were supposed to depend upon his belief that the Pope must rule this piece of land in Italy. That Whitsuntide assembly of bishops, 'their tongues trembling with the flames, which kindled the heart of Mary, and moved the Apostles to proclaim the greatness of God,' in an address to the Pope, which however was the outcome of warm debates and several compromises, lamented the oppression of the Italian Church, declared the temporal power of the apostolic See to be necessary for its spiritual independence, praised the Pope's acts in maintenance of the rights of the Holy See, condemned the errors already denounced by him, and urged him to persist in his firm opposition. After what we know as to the appointment of these bishops nothing else was to be expected; and if one considers what abuse would have been the lot of those who were otherwise minded, a spirit of conviction which might almost have been called impiety would have been required in order to speak in opposition upon so sacred a spot.

But there are present with the Pope in his Whitsun-

tide address, in his sorrow and in his joy, the followers of Strauss¹ and Hegel² as persons who give out that Holy Scripture is a collection of myths, and indeed that our Lord Himself is a mythical fiction, who, in their shamelessness desire to set aside our gracious God as merged in the world and humanity, who, scraping together riches, pandering to all base passions, proclaim and practise the emancipation of the flesh, thrown together as they are with those who, in their contempt for Divine and human law, have profanely conspired against the temporal sovereignty of this holy See, which is set up by the special decree of Divine Providence. Therefore, full of anxiety for the souls of all the nations entrusted to him by God, he raised his apostolic voice to proscribe and denounce all these erroneous teachings, as running counter not only to the Catholic faith and the laws of God and the Church, but to the very natural and eternal law and claims of sound reason. To publish this and arouse the nations on its behalf he dismissed the bishops to their homes, even, we may say with Lavalette³, as Samson sent the foxes with firebrands into the corn-fields of the Philistines⁴.

Fortified by the unanimous acclamation of the Episcopate Pius was as little as possible disposed to think of coming to an understanding with the plunderer of the Church, especially as this understanding would involve not only the surrender of the temporal power, but also

¹ David Friedrich Strauss, the noted German philosopher and theologian, professor at Tübingen and Zurich, and deprived at both places on account of his opinions; d. 1874.

² See p. 296.

³ A Jesuit of the middle of the eighteenth century, prominently connected with the banking business at Martinique, of which the Order made a somewhat unscrupulous use for the furtherance of their designs.

⁴ Judges xv. 4.

the concession of liberal measures in reference to monasteries and matters of education, which are indissolubly bound up with young Italy. Nevertheless, it was possible to consider the drawing up of terms under which without temporal rule full liberty for the government of his Church as hitherto would be guaranteed to the Pope, just as they are substantially given him as things are: free election of the Pope with the accustomed form (and this might easily be hereby made still more free, and in particular more independent of Italy); his full sovereign rank, also the cardinals, household prelates, and servants of his palace officially subject to him alone; this his independence, personal and as supreme Head of the Catholic Church in all ecclesiastical decisions, guaranteed by the collective Catholic powers; their ambassadors to have the rights of a diplomatic corps; the Leonine city on the left bank of the Tiber as far as the *Porta di San Spirito* subjected to his patrimonial jurisdiction, without its other inhabitants having to be deprived of the civil rights of the Italian State; as his seat and unencumbered possession the Vatican with all its treasures of art and learning, the Lateran, the Propaganda with the other ecclesiastical educational institutions belonging to individual nations or to the whole Catholic Church; moreover the summer palace with its gardens at Castel Gandolfo, the seaside villa at Porto d'Anzio, and whatever else of the kind may serve for the embellishment and amenities of the life of a princely Ecclesiastic; the Swiss guard to be increased at any time, if needful; lastly, for the cardinals resident in Rome, for the maintenance of his Court, for embassies, benevolent institutions, and public worship in St. Peter's, as well as in the chapels

of the Vatican, adequate and abundant revenues to be furnished, not as a civil list, but as an income based upon law and charged upon the old domains of the States of the Church, for it is demanded by the character of the Catholic Church that her visible Head should not live simply in apostolic poverty, but in accordance with the conditions prevailing hitherto in a certain princely splendour. When Napoleon I united the States of the Church with France, he settled upon the Pope an annual sum of two million francs, besides palaces in Rome and Paris. That was, perhaps, too low a figure for a peaceable settlement. A matter of a million more need not be considered, if it is possible to make the kingdom of Italy tolerable to the Papacy. Would, however, the spiritual independence of the Pope following upon his dignity be hereby really secured?

In the Middle Ages, when personal security and liberty were dependent upon being in the service of a powerful person, or on oneself being a potent owner of land and people, the bishop of Rome in order to exercise, in accordance with his mission in the world's history, a moral sway over the nations and Princes of the West, had need of his own free territory, and so, by means of great efforts and some highly endowed men, this peculiar kingdom was formed as representing Him Who had not where to lay His head, and as succeeding the poor fisherman of Galilee. Yet the spiritual power of the Popes was at by far the highest point when these States of the Church were still a distracted, insecure, and often menaced conglomerate of estates. The modern State with its civilization has established conditions, in which the private individual when favoured by fortune, perhaps

a large landed proprietor, a rich merchant, or a member of some high tribunal, if he desires it and has character adapted for it, lives in full security and liberty for the fulfilment of his duties, as in former days the knight in his castle and the Prince in his fortified town. So too future Popes, when once the great sacrifice is made, would be able to dwell much more securely in their part of the city, which spiteful extravagance termed a papal ghetto, than many a Pope of the Middle Ages, at the extent of whose powers we still marvel, and, undisturbed by political anxieties, they would be able to take heed and pray for the eternal possessions of the Church. Even after the secularizations of the Peace of Westphalia there remained in the possession of the German bishops at least as much land as the States of the Church while still unimpaired yielded. No one will assert that the German Episcopate is less influential and powerful over the Church, since our bishops have been no longer Princes of the realm but merely spiritual persons, who are at any rate appointed exclusively with a view to ecclesiastical interests. When we consider how many of these bishops, so long as they restricted themselves to the purely ecclesiastical sphere, took an independent position towards their ruler, we need not fear that the Papacy will merge into a Piedmontese benefice, the Pope into a Byzantine courtly patriarch or Roman ecclesiastic, his pastorals to the Catholic nations countersigned by the minister of the king of Italy. This would be at once precluded by the fact that he does not exclusively belong to the Italian kingdom, and almost every Catholic power to whom he appealed would be prepared to protect his ecclesiastical independence, which for that very reason would be dealt with by the home government with

the utmost forbearance, in order not by means of this appeal to induce inconvenient complications and developments. A free spirit remains free even in chains, and more than one Pope of the Middle Ages proved himself possessed of this kind of freedom. It may be admitted that boarding schools are not to be established for characters that are seldom to be found, but for ordinary average beings. Pius VII was not an heroic spirit any more than is Pius IX in spite of all idealizing, and yet the former, when bereft of the States of the Church, and a poor prisoner, withstood the powerful ruler to whom Europe bowed down, while he refused canonical confirmation to the bishops nominated by the emperor, and thus endangered the whole constitution of the Church. When they desired to intimidate him by relating the emperor's outbursts of wrath, he replied in his gentle way: 'I will lay them at the feet of the Crucified.' Napoleon dreaded this powerful ecclesiastical spirit, and in pitting his own spirit against it he was only for a few days successful.

But that the Pope can exist as supreme Head of the Catholic Church without temporal sovereignty follows in fact from this, that he has already for a long time been no longer sovereign in the true sense. For example, Gregory XVI in his political position was wholly dependent upon Austria. Pius IX, since the day when he re-entered Rome under the protection of French bayonets, alongside of so many other powers who now ruled there jointly, was dependent upon France even for his personal security. Nevertheless he was thoroughly uncomplying towards the emperor, with regard to whom he complained that it was difficult to decide 'whether we are at present protected by friends or kept in prison by foes'. He left all his

political demands unheeded. Likewise in Church matters, perhaps merely from political vexation, he refused sanction to a bishop nominated by the emperor. For this reason Napoleon left several vacant sees unfilled, in order not to encounter such refusals. On the other hand, there has often enough taken place, owing to the temporal rank of the Pope, the converse of an advancement of the spiritual side. By his political position as an Italian Prince he was compelled or induced to put forth ecclesiastical decrees which were not to the mind of the Church. A special point in the matter is that now when the other States of the country have united, the States of the Church, even if they could have been restored unimpaired, are yet much too small not to remain always politically dependent and a football of foreign politics. When Napoleon I had seized them he spoke thus, not without justification from historical facts, in presence of the legislative assembly: 'The concerns of religion were only too commonly mixed up with the interests of a third-rate State, and sacrificed to them. If the half of Europe is separated from the Roman Church, this is most properly to be ascribed to the causes of discord which never ceased between the truths of religion, which are for the whole world, and the selfishness which confined itself to a corner of Italy. To this scandal I have put an end for ever.'

It is simply the political position of the Pope, as it was necessarily fixed by the temporal States of the Church, which has been the cause that the spiritual Papacy, in cases where it is no more than that, has become an object of offence, nay, of detestation to a good portion of the people of Italy. The Pope was compared to the Sultan, the dying to the presumably

sick man. The uneasy cry for money was said to proclaim the demise of the Papacy, as well as the death-struggle of Turkey. Garibaldi by means of his heroic spirit as well as by his unselfishness has remained the favourite of the people, although he declared in popular speeches and public letters: 'We confess the religion of Christ, not that of the Pope and cardinals, for they are the enemies of Italy. The cancerous sore of the Papacy must be cut out of Italy. Separate yourselves from the vipers in the shape of priests, from the devil's representative, the Antichrist in Rome. Revive primitive Christianity, which exhibits self-denial, mutual forgiveness, and the sacred dogma of the equality of all mankind. Henceforth let the Italian priest proclaim from the pulpit to those below the Gospel of the deliverance of their native land and the condemnation of the Vatican.'

The conception of a Pope-king is quite modern. The early Popes would have regarded this as a secularization, those of the Middle Ages as a degradation, to be placed thus on a level with the Kings of this world. The States of the Church were considered only as an appendage, necessary indeed but trifling as compared with the spiritual power over heaven and hell. That combination first became a watchword among those who were opposed to the temporal power of the pontificate. When Pius IX appealed to the fact that it was not the people of Italy, but only some impious men, who desired to overthrow the throne of the Viceroy of Christ, and Antonelli maintained that it was only with the Turin cabinet, and not with the Italian people, that the Pope's government had broken, there answered a wide-ringing popular cry: 'Down with the Pope-king! Hurrah for Victor Emanuel in the Capitol!'

This could be read in numerous addresses, and posted up in many windows, especially in the old papal city of Bologna. Moreover, that combination contradicts a fundamental principle of Canon law, that God has divided all authority upon earth for the salvation of Christendom between royalty and priesthood, which are intended to give each other mutual aid, but never to be confused together; or, as it is represented in the statement of German national rights in the Middle Ages, between Empire and Papacy. It was only the rhetoric of a favourable advocate, when (in 1849) Odilon Barrot¹ said: 'The two powers must be united in the Roman State, so that they may be separate in all the rest of the world.' Thus a type was set up in Rome, in order that no one should imitate it.

On the other hand, there are genuine Catholic poets who, as far-seeing prophets, cried woe upon the combination of the two authorities which had been begun in Rome, the shepherd's staff and the sword in a single hand. Thus Dante:

Ah, Constantine, to how much ill gave rise,
Not thy conversion, but the dower conferred
On the first wealthy Pope by thee as prize!²

So falls Rome's Church, because it seeks to blend
The twofold dignity, the twofold rule,
And doth thereby its sacred charge besmirch.³

So too our Walther von der Vogelweide⁴:

King Constantine did once bestow
These gifts, as I would have you know,
Upon the See of Rome, spear, cross, and crown.
At once the angel loudly cried,
Woe, woe! a threefold woe betide!

(From *The Priests' Election*, transl. by A. Phillips.)

¹ Camille Hyacinthe Odilon Barrot, a French advocate and statesman in the time of Louis Philippe; d. 1873.

² *Inferno*, xix. 105-7 (Wilberforce's transl.). ³ *Purgatorio*, xvi. 127-9.

⁴ The principal minnesinger and greatest lyric poet of mediæval Germany; d. at Würzburg after 1227.

Accordingly it might even happen, contrary to Catholic fears and Protestant hopes, that a new epoch of religious power and activity might commence for the Pope, if he has thrown off temporal burdens and glory, if he can no longer be termed the evil genius of Italy, and if it no longer is needful to hear with a certain amount of blushing the saying of our Lord, 'My kingdom is not of this world'¹, and of the Apostle, a soldier of God 'entangleth himself'² not in secular business. The Pope would then no longer be tempted to surround himself with an army, to muster his Zouaves, and lay the foundation-stone of new barracks. The inducement would no longer be present with the Church to do what specially embitters men's minds and hardens them against religion, when this is employed for secular ends, or when secular means are adopted for a religious pretence. Thus the Inquisitor Airaldi put forth an edict (in 1856), according to which every one, under threat of the severest spiritual penalties, has to denounce any religious offence whatever that he observes. For instance, a maidservant falls under the curse if she neglect to apprise the Inquisition that in her employers' house meat was eaten on Friday. The Pope would then no longer be tempted to transmit the consecrated golden rose to a Queen Isabella³ as the reward of virtue, nor to become a forger of counterfeit coin, who allows money to be struck under its recognized value. Owing to this practice the French peasantry no doubt joyfully laid up in their chests the beautiful franc pieces with the venerable likeness of the Holy Father, until the French Government found itself compelled to publish the worthlessness of this money, and now at every baker's shop the expression may be heard: *c'est un*

¹ John xviii. 36.² 2 Tim. ii. 4.³ See p. 51.

*pape ! il ne vaut rien !*¹ Then too would the prelates be less frequent who only put on the ecclesiastical garb, and dispense with a lawful spouse of their own, in order, without any sort of spiritual calling, to attain to dignity and power. Then also the limitation would no longer be laid upon the Holy Spirit to choose an Italian only for Head of the Church, as, by reason of the majority of Italian cardinals appointed from that worldly body of prelates, this is what has happened for more than three hundred years, completely contrary to the cosmopolitan idea of the Catholic Church—a discreditable bondage for her. Similarly, the right of exclusion possessed by certain lay sovereigns on the occasion of a contemplated election of Pope² is of primary importance to the elective Prince of Italy and to his Italian policy. Over a Pope who was simply ecclesiastical they would have no claim. He could be chosen simply and solely by his equals in rank, in accordance with his ecclesiastical qualities.

The continued existence of the States of the Church, however, was only a question of time, and whether the kingdom of Italy would last long enough for some political revolution or other to compel France once more to withdraw its troops from Roman territory. Indeed, they could not remain there till the judgement day. It was anticipated that the French Government on the occasion of the next war, whether with England or with Germany, would purchase with the surrender of Rome the active support, or at least the neutrality, of the kingdom of Italy. Perhaps it might have to call its regiments back at once, lest they should be cut off. Therefore the only secure path pointed to Rome, in order that the unity of Italy, which had its rise in

¹ It is a pope. It is worthless.

² See p. 236.

the league between the monarchy and liberty, faithful to its origin might grow strong in the practice of law and order, and develop all the faculties of this rich land. If the people of Italy had enough public spirit, courage, and above all patience, to maintain the unity of the land in its existing compass, the day must some time dawn when all the gates of Rome stand open for Italy.

This day has come. When France and the adventurer who was its emperor had induced one another to make a rapacious attack upon the fair country of the Rhine, and the whole German people, the people in arms, had risen to oppose them, the French Government, after the first disasters to their army, saw themselves compelled to recall their troops from the Roman territory for the defence of their own country (August 10, 1870). The King of Italy referred for the integrity of the States of the Church to the September Convention, although long since infringed by France. He may have been influenced either by apprehension in the event of France proving in the end victorious, or by the surrender of Rome having been promised in general terms as a return for any help in need. But this need burst upon France in so speedy and terrible a way, that the rendering of aid could no more be contemplated. The Italian army occupied the confines of the States of the Church to protect them against the threatened irruption of Garibaldi's volunteers. Now again, as the opportunity arose, there woke in the people of Italy all its tumultuous yearning for its capital, while the desire was not unreciprocated on the part of the Roman populace. The King's throne was in fact menaced if he did not respond to it, and when at length his government resolved to give orders

to march into the *Patrimonium Petri*, it might be said to be at least a half truth that Victor Emanuel wrote to the Pope that he could put a check neither upon the zeal of the national efforts, nor upon the agitations of the revolutionary party. Pius IX sought help among Catholic and non-Catholic powers. At this time however, full of war and expectation of war, no State was in the position to undertake a crusade for the deliverance of the Pope-king. Moreover, they were still out of humour with his claim to infallibility, and he now received back from foreign mouths his own *non possumus*. An envoy from the King offered the Pope almost the same terms which we considered appropriate for his dignity and spiritual independence. He steadily refused to accept anything which would involve abandonment of his temporal rule. He wrote to the King: 'I glorify God Who has permitted your majesty to overwhelm the last stage of my life with bitterness.' The papal troops received orders to retreat upon Rome before a superior force. They amounted to 12,000. In addition to the Zouaves and other foreigners there had lately also been enlisted bands of men from the mountains, squadrons so called (*squadriglieri*), of whom report said that it was an excellent time for a tour in the mountainous country of the frontiers, since the brave men, who were used to looking after the safety of those regions, had now been all attracted to the city. Nevertheless, this garrison was far from adequate to defend the large extent of walls against the great Italian host, for they had not ventured to arm the residents in Rome on behalf of the Pope, as was done in 1849 on behalf of the Republic. The Pope's general, the brave Swiss Kanzler, considered it inconsistent with military honour to

surrender the city without a conflict, and in this way perhaps the Viceroy of the Prince of Peace was prevailed upon to think that his honour required the non-surrender of his temporal kingdom before blood should flow, as a sign that he yielded only to forcible measures. Notwithstanding, on the evening before the decision, he sent this communication to his general: 'In the moment when a great sacrilege, when a most monstrous injustice, is about to be carried out, when the army of a Catholic king, without motive, without the semblance of an excuse, harasses with a siege the metropolis of the Catholic world, we feel above all things the need of thanking the troops who have devoted themselves to the defence of this capital. But as regards the duration of this defence we must direct that it consist solely of a protest, calculated to attest the act of force. Therefore, at once after the opening of a breach, communications with respect to surrender are to be made. At a time when all Europe is lamenting the extremely numerous victims of a war between two great nations, it shall not be said that the representative of Christ can give his consent to a great shedding of blood. Our cause is the cause of God. On His hand we place all our reliance.'

Thus on September 20 at about five in the morning the attack began on three sides of the city. After a cannonade of four hours a breach was made at the *Porta Pia*. The white flag appeared on St. Angelo. Some shots, however, were still fired within the town, while the Italian army, as it entered, was welcomed by a jubilant populace. Not till midday did the purely military capitulation take place. According to its terms the garrison were made prisoners of war, the foreign troops were to be conducted over the frontiers

of Italy, and the native ones disbanded, excepting the *squadriglieri*, with regard to whom there was first to be an inquiry how far justice had claims upon individuals. The officers had the option of entering the Italian army. The administration of the Roman territory was taken over by a commission (*giunta*), chosen in part at least by the populace in the Colosseum; its president the Duke Sermoneta, belonging to Gaeta, of the family of Boniface VIII, well known as a friend of liberty, art, and learning, but for years almost blind. The favourite *plébiscite*, to bring the seizure into legal shape, was arranged to be taken on October 2, in this form: 'In reliance upon the spiritual independence of the Pope remaining safeguarded, I desire annexation to the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emanuel II and his successors.' In Viterbo they voted to this effect without hesitation. The Romans desired to know nothing of such conditions. This does not, they said, belong to the *plébiscite*. Their claim to become citizens of Italy is independent of the assurance which the Italian Government may think proper to bestow upon the Catholic Church. They were permitted to vote without the condition. We have no cause for placing special value upon this vote. But meanwhile, how was it taken? By law it was secret, yet many bore their 'Yes' openly fastened on their hat; guilds and other fraternities for the most part going to the voting urn as to a festival. The result in Rome was 40,785 in favour and forty-six against, and a similar proportion in other inhabited parts of the States of the Church, while in many a unanimous affirmative was given. There was a permanent significance in this voice of the people, a provisional sentence of death against the temporal power of the

Papacy, and that at a time when the early bloom of the kingdom of Italy was already fading. The intention, however, was to hand over Leo's city to the Pope as a sovereign possession. Apart from its ecclesiastical inhabitants it is occupied for the most part by artisans, a splendid race with handsome women, apparently containing a mixture of German blood, and these Transtiberines had the reputation hitherto of being specially attached to the Pope. But in the first place the Pope himself refused to consent to any definite proposal of this kind, and in the second, when it was proposed that a *plébiscite* should not take place in this division of the city, the population complained that they desired not to be cut off from the city and not to remain subjects of the Pope. So they were accorded permission on that side of the river to cast their voting tickets into an urn, and they bore it in festive procession to the Capitol, filled with unanimous votes in the affirmative.

The Roman deputation with the results of the voting in all the rest of the States of the Church, 133,681 in favour, and 1507 against, was received in Florence with great ceremony. The Florentines, severely as it hit them to lose again so speedily the position of capital of Italy acquired at the price of a heavy debt, nevertheless courteously enough decided (in contrast to Turin, which has never ceased to show indignation at this loss) ceremoniously to greet Rome as the true capital. Victor Emanuel in receiving the deputation said: 'As King and as a Catholic I hold fast to the intention, while proclaiming the unity of Italy, to secure the liberty of the Church and the independence of the Pope.' This addition to the King's speech was also reported: 'We thank fortune

but little, on the contrary, the justice of our cause much.' If things were to be thus weighed, a heavier weight however might have been put into the former scale. The people of Italy attained the final accomplishment of their unity almost too easily for a nation. It was German victories by means of which it obtained the invincible fortresses and Venice; again it was German victories purchased with much bloodshed, by means of which, unmolested by the French protector, it entered Rome.

Pius IX forthwith in a circular to the ambassadors entered a protest against this whole fresh spoliation of the Catholic Church. In this there is only a slight hint at the still-existing excommunications. 'Meanwhile we ask of God in constant prayer that He will enlighten the hearts of our enemies, that day by day they may become more disinclined to burden their souls with the fetters of the Church's censure and call down upon themselves the terrible wrath of the living God.' There could not fail to be concurrent protests against the legality of the Piedmontese consumption of the last scrap of the Roman artichoke. The bishops of Belgium in an address of sympathy to the Pope characterize thus the entrance of Italy into her capital: 'In view of international law this is the carrying out of an assault upon the most legitimate and venerable sovereignty which exists in the world. In view of history it is a piece of cowardice, for it is the act of force against weakness. In the view of men's hearts it is a parricide, for it is the crime of the most thankless of sons against the common Father of the great Christian family. In the view of the Church and of God it is a sacrilege, the seizing of the rights of Jesus Christ Himself.'

A bishop could not easily avoid similar reflections and declarations. The bishops of Germany, assembled again in October at the tomb of St. Boniface¹ to pray for the infallible Pope and for the Pope-king, put forth a protest 'against the act of violence, as sacrilegious and controverting international law. The sovereignty of the Pope, as the means furnished by Divine Providence to secure to the Head of the Church the freedom indispensable to the exercise of his office, is an inalienable right of Catholic Christendom. The desire of passionate revolutionaries to unite the population of Italy in one State can furnish no just pretext for the occupation of a city which finds itself in the possession of its legitimate ruler, and enjoys a just and benevolent government. Quite as little can this occupation be rendered legitimate by the frivolous comedy of a vote, to give which revolutionary masses are lugged in and an intimidated population summoned. Such an appeal to the ostensible rights of a nationality and the will of the people will never prevent us from branding before all the world, as a crime against the ordinances of God and men, the forcible deed of a revolutionary government, which robs the patrimony of St. Peter, usurps the capital of the Catholic world, and by means of a discreditable imprisonment hinders the Holy Father in the free exercise of his office. The protection of right against violence befitted, above all, the governments of Europe, which have recognized in solemn treaties the sovereignty of the Holy See. If they do not perceive this duty, then it is the business of their Catholic subjects to recall it to their memory. As loyal citizens we venture to demand the protection of our rights

¹ See p. 314. St. Boniface, the 'Apostle of Germany,' d. 755 (buried at Fulda).

and the guarding of our interests in the ecclesiastical sphere. We do this wherever opportunity presents itself; by the press, by associations and meetings, but especially by choosing for our representatives only such men as have the courage and power to guard Catholic interests'.

In this way the signal, for which at first there was no necessity, was given for many complaints and denunciations, which found their popular expression in the phrases: 'the Italian beast of prey', 'the moral monster', 'the bandit-king has thrust the Holy City into the thieves' wallet of his kingdom got together by theft'. Already on the occasion of the earlier annexations politically minded Church parties had assumed an attitude as though, with the dissolution of the States of the Church, all justice upon earth was coming to an end. The *Univers* announced shortly before its own temporary disappearance: 'If the Pope were no longer King, the Cross would be torn off all crowns, there would be nothing more to protect the world, and it would speedily sink into idolatry.' Veuillot¹ did not wish to believe in the approaching end of the temporal rule of the Pope, for the reason that he did not believe that the end of the world was near. The Prussian *Kreuzzeitung*, 'For God, King, and fatherland,' declared: 'The fact that the Catholic Church is considered worthy to become the stone of stumbling for the unearthly powers which in pursuance of deadly enmity are suddenly seeking to grasp each others' hands over the uprooted Cross, is an honourable testimony to that Church, on account of which Protestantism may envy her. If ever, then at the present time, it is for

¹ See p. 249.

us to show by word and deed that in the face of the iniquitous alliance of revolution and despotism we are conscious in full measure of the solidarity of our cause with that of the Catholics as regards ecclesiastical and political matters. It is not merely an affair of the Lutheran glebes. The throne of the King of Prussia is on all fours as to its claims with the patrimony of Peter.'

In fact, a party in the Protestant Church, unmindful of the old Lutheranism from which they draw their name, even took the fate of the Pope to heart in sincere sympathy. Some spokesmen of this party at a conference in Erfurt¹ as early as 1860 stretched out their hands to zealous Catholics, forming a solidly confederated association, if not to labour, yet to pray for the temporal rule of the Pope. Luther truly took a different view of this, and his exhortation was: 'Oh, seize now, whoso can seize. May God give no luck to lazy hands! In the first place let there be taken from the Pope Rome, the Romagna, Urbino², Bologna³, and all which he possesses as Pope, for he has stolen it by lying and deceit! But what do I say? by lying and deceit? by blasphemy and idol-worship!'

If the chief matter in question with regard to the States of the Church was, whether through their loss the liberty of which the Holy Father stood in need for his spiritual rule was impaired, this is so far defined in the protest which issued from the Vatican on Michaelmas Day: 'We see ourselves robbed of

¹ A city of Saxony, specially connected with Luther's memory. He entered its University in 1501, and its Augustinian monastery two years afterwards.

² Annexed by the Papal States in 1631.

³ Incorporated with the States of the Church in 1503.

that liberty which is above all necessary for us in order to direct the Church of God and uphold its privileges. And herein, if we declare that this liberty has been torn from us, our enemies cannot answer that this declaration and complaint of ours is not well founded. Inasmuch as every reasonable person must perceive that, after we have been deprived of the supreme and free control over the post and the public dispatch of letters, which we enjoyed by virtue of our sovereign authority in civil matters, and as we can place no reliance upon the government which arrogated to itself this control, we deem ourselves in point of fact bereft of the needful and appropriate method and free right to take in hand those concerns which the representative of Jesus Christ and the Father of all the faithful, to whom his sons throughout the whole world have resort, must necessarily care for and administer.'

This was a curious reason to assign in order to prove spiritual bondage. It is not a complaint that letters have been kept back, or the privacy of correspondence violated. This cannot happen in the kingdom of Italy, and for that matter took place in former days from time to time in the States of the Church. It only meant that the Pope's correspondence no longer enjoys royal privileges, including perhaps free postage. Further, the Pope had complained on an earlier occasion that he was expected to sign a receipt for a registered letter like a private person. He received the answer that it was always open to him to establish a private post and telegraph office in the Vatican. But moreover, independently of this, papal dispatches hitherto, whenever they were not forwarded by couriers, on crossing the frontiers

of the States of the Church were transferred to the hands of Italian officials. Therefore it was necessarily difficult for the faithful, even with the best of wills, to perceive in these circumstances a menace to spiritual liberty, and not rather a sign of the opposite in the fact that no further hindrance was alleged. Then there was further adduced the unseemliness of searching persons who came out of the Vatican, for what they were carrying beneath their clothes. Yet the papal protest itself added: 'On the other hand complaint was made, and the excuse offered that a misunderstanding had occurred. But who could be ignorant that such misunderstandings may repeat themselves, and many similar ones follow?' Further, complaint was made that the clerical list of the city was examined, plainly to help in the levying of troops, and that abuse specially directed against the loyal troops, who had deserved highly of their religion, remained unpunished. The former was the natural consequence of the enrolling of Rome in the kingdom of Italy. The latter, in the days immediately following the capture of a city with cannon, was likely to be difficult to avoid and impossible to punish. The last complaint was more serious on behalf of the Roman University: 'It is intended that this institution by means of false teaching and the incapacity of those called to the office of teachers shall be reduced to a condition which is very different from what it has been hitherto.' This was only an anticipation, for the vacation still continued, and nothing was done about the University; still in the opinion of the Pope it was just, and one which had a yet wider reach. The King's Government, albeit after a long delay, were obliged to remember the great Roman University, the *Sapi-*

*enza*¹, though not precisely to appoint incapable men as teachers, yet it might well be such as had no special interest in the infallibility of the Pope. It was also obliged to attend to the promotion of national education, which was not the strong point of the States of the Church.

It showed, however, ignorance and unreasonableness to demand from Pius IX that he should renounce the heritage of the Church in accordance with treaty. A Pope with any sense of equity cannot do this. He is not the owner, but still more decidedly than an hereditary monarch or the possessor of an entailed estate merely the administrator and usufructuary of an ecclesiastical foundation. It would be against the Canon law by virtue of which he holds office, against the oath which he has sworn to uphold the rights of the Holy See, and to allow no loss to be sustained by those who hold it, at the time when upon his coronation the charge was given him: 'Know that thou art the Father of Kings, the Regent of the wide world, the Representative of Christ upon the earth!' It has become proverbial to say, 'Rome does not go back, and ever abides her time'; but how much has for centuries happened in contravention of those imaginary rights! The Popes protested against all these occurrences. They have even become in their way Protestants by means of this power of circumstances opposing itself to the ideal rights. Thus Pius IX protested; thus his successors will protest, since the conception and forms of their office demand it, that the States of the Church are the inalienable possession of the Pope and of God. They protest and endure what cannot be altered. The first Napoleon saw this,

¹ A title of the University of Rome.

although it was precisely he and he alone among all mortals who wrung from the Papacy a renunciation of land and people, in the peace of Tolentino¹; but this was done in actual war, and as the rescue of the other portions of the States of the Church from devastation by the unbelieving republican hosts. But when this conqueror, himself also half broken down, excommunicated as he was, had wrested the new Concordat from his exalted prisoner on January 25, 1813, at Fontainebleau, and it was announced to him in the evening that Pius VII was fretting over the fact that this Concordat might be regarded as a renunciation of the Church territory which had been taken away, the emperor wrote him this note, as proud as it was simple in its terms: 'Holy Father, I have learned that your Holiness, on the occasion of signing the Concordat, has experienced anxiety lest there should be deduced therefrom a renunciation on the part of your Holiness of the Roman States. It gives me satisfaction to assure your Holiness that I have never held it necessary to obtain a renunciation of the sovereignty over the Roman States. In my dealings with the Pope I have regarded him simply in his character as Head of the Church in spiritual matters. For the rest I pray God that He may long preserve your Holiness as governor of our holy Church. Your Holiness's very devoted son, Napoleon.'

Victor Emanuel was able to write similarly to Pius IX. When he shut himself up in the Vatican, a voluntary prisoner, and avoided everything from which a recognition of the *de facto* government might be inferred, nothing remained to be done but to establish

¹ There (thirty miles SSW. of Ancona) in 1797 Pius VI conceded extensive territories, including Avignon and the Romagna, to Napoleon.

the future constitutional attitude of the Papacy towards Italy by means of a law which should make a future state of peace possible, and at the same time furnish the Catholic powers, in the event of any interference on their part, with a guarantee for the full freedom of the Pope in the government of his whole Church. This 'guarantee-law', as after discussion in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies it was published on May 13, 1871, left to the Pope the honours and inviolable character of a sovereign ruler, the right to receive and to send envoys, and to maintain a body-guard. It left him, as ex-territorial palaces, the Vatican with its art treasures, the Lateran, and the Villa Castel Gandolfo on the Latin hills, also all ecclesiastical establishments in the city and its precincts, free of taxation; and in conformity with this the cost of maintenance of his Court hitherto, the payment of a government annuity of 3,225,000 francs entered in the great book of the national exchequer. The Pope asserted that his position as sovereign was self-evident, but he scorned to receive each year's payment at the hands of a robber State, drawing merely a sum as Peter's pence which had been deposited in the treasury chest. It accumulates as savings, and would serve a more complaisant successor as a pleasant nest-egg, while Pius IX, by means of his Peter's penny, continues to be placed in a position to care for himself and those belonging to him.

There was no lack, however, of further complaints, when the Pope's summer palace¹ was sequestered for a royal castle, and the Italian law as to monastic establishments came upon the numerous monasteries of Rome as a fate; reserving, however, the ground as

¹ The Quirinal.

a limited source of income in the case of the generality of foreign Orders who have had their seat in Rome from early times. They sit there close to each other, the King of Italy in his capital by the will of a worthy nation, the Pope with the consciousness of the rights belonging to a thousand years of rule, while his complaint ever and again rang out because of the spoilation in the sanctuary.

All property and the whole established system of things depend, of course, upon a certain community of rights. Nevertheless it would be imprudent, in the face of the changes in the public life of nations, to base everything upon like unalterable rights. The King of Prussia's throne, e.g., is not founded upon the rock of Peter, and in any case our Lord understood by the latter something different from the patrimony of Peter with definite Roman provinces. These States of the Church did not fall ready-made from heaven, and were not brought together in a purely innocent and legitimate fashion. German Princes, in particular the Kings of Prussia and Bavaria, possess much excellent Church land. Have all rights haply fallen to the ground by reason of this secularization, and are then the monarchs concerned to have it preached to them, even at the present day, that for conscience-sake they should give up this plunder?

If the Christian element which still exists in the Catholic Church is endangered by the dissolution of the temporal rule of the Pope, Protestantism too would be justified on its free and lofty standpoint in protesting against it. Even the consideration that by means of the new Italian kingdom there would be thrown open to it that Italy, which had so long been closed and had formerly repelled with such bloodshed 'the kindness

of the Crucified One',¹ was bound not to hold Protestantism back from standing on the side of the harassed Pope in this matter. But even if the facts were as the followers of the Pope assure us, that this dissolution of the Pope's temporal rule is a persecution of the Church, nevertheless they might recognize what they so often and, we may add, so truly have said, that the Church is never stronger—and this may well apply to its real essence as Christian—than under the Cross of persecution.

The Michaelmastide protest on the part of the Pope begins with the words: 'Christ Who humbleth and exalteth, chastiseth and healeth, has permitted the city of Rome, the seat of the supreme pontificate, to fall into the enemy's hand.' That must have involved something incomprehensible to his understanding, but his piety will have acquiesced in it as a Divine dispensation. In the first years after the occurrence we heard from the inmates of the Vatican the expression of assurance, 'another year, and Victor Emanuel will be driven out and the Pope-king re-established.' He has departed without any sort of re-establishment in his temporal rule, and has died in the belief that all that has been lost will revert to his successors. Irrespective of the individual Pope the promises hold good only for the Papacy. These were the words of Pius IX as long since as his New Year speech in 1862 to Goyon, the French commander-in-chief, and his officers after the first losses: 'These provinces belong inalienably to the holy See, and I shall surrender no part of them, since it is not lawful for me to

¹ *The Benefit of Christ's Death*, a work attributed, but on doubtful evidence, to Aonio (or Antonio) Paleario, an Italian reformer and humorist, executed by the Inquisition 1570.

give up the property of the Church which is the pledge of the independence of the Viceroy of Christ. I say with confidence; we will return to these provinces. If I am not myself with you then, yet he who shall sit upon this chair after me will be; for Simon dies, but Peter is eternal.' The only difficulty is that these provinces were promised neither to Simon nor to Peter. Nevertheless the Papacy even on its temporal side is of a tenacious character. More than once already had the States of the Church appeared to be lost to the successor of the Prince of the Apostles. This was the case as late as our own times, once by the action of the first French Republic; when Pius VI died a prisoner¹ in the hands of those who did not recognize the God whose Viceroy he believed himself to be, and the second time through the action of the first French Empire². On that occasion Pius VII, defenceless as he was, returned victorious to Rome, while Napoleon I took ship to Elba and to St. Helena³.

But this was a case of foreign conquerors whose power lasts no longer than their victories. When Napoleon in his camp at Vienna on May 17, 1809, announced his decision for pressing reasons to unite again with the French Empire 'the gift which, under the title of a loan, Charles the Great, emperor of the French, our illustrious predecessor, made to the bishops of Rome', this was in itself merely a brilliant piece of fancy, although it was for the moment carried out with very real power. The case, as it now stands, is more serious. Certainly the Papacy with the earthly basis upon which its hallowed chair has so long stood is an

¹ See p. 359.

² See p. 334.

³ Banished to Elba in 1814. and (after Waterloo) to St. Helena in 1815.

idea, a spiritual power, deeply grounded in past time. Moreover, the remark is readily heard that Rome at least belongs to all Catholic Christendom, and for the surrender of the blessing of a free State has received in exchange spiritual benedictions conferred at first hand and all the advantages of an ecclesiastical capital of the world. But it should be remembered that the national unity of Italy is an idea, young and born in the freshness of its life from the hearts of a nation, which in its rich endowment has twice swayed the West, twice bestowed upon it its own intellectual training, and then endured a long political martyrdom, whether conquering or conquered, ever ill-fated. If the breaking up of the States of the Church appears to be an attack upon her freedom, the withholding of a piece of Italy and of its ancient capital was an attack upon the unity of the nation; and a nation which is rising to a consciousness of its own rights and its own power will hardly, in the long run, submit to exercise domestic rights in its own territory in presence of an intruded authority, however venerable.

The two ideas were at variance with one another. If Rome, on the one hand, appears pledged to the service of the whole Catholic world, so, on the other hand, it appears as a prediction and great contributor to national unity, such as Germany will never have, that, with regard to such a born capital by the grace of God, those who desire unity at all are without exception in agreement beforehand. If the temporal Papacy has deep roots in the past, yet long before the cry for the unity of Italy became a power it was already grievously at variance with the existing civilization. In an hour of annoyance as early as 1786 Goethe¹

¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1749,

wrote: 'The soldier of the Pope seems to maintain his position only because the earth does not desire to swallow him up.' Moreover, all kingdoms where the monarchy is elective in the course of time have come to an end. Especially does the time of priestly States, so customary and natural in early days, appear to be over. Even in an almost barbarous country like Montenegro the Vladica¹, a warlike and national bishop, can scarcely maintain himself as such. Only the realm of the Dalai Lama² still remains, who, outbidding indeed the Popedom, is honoured not as a Viceroy of God but as the Incarnate Godhead Itself, and is nevertheless in his omnipotence impotent and dependent upon the emperor of China, himself not too powerful.

Pius IX renewed the complaint: 'All means of directing the Church in the right way have been taken from us'; and he addressed himself to the bishops that they should encourage the faithful over whom they presided, by means permitted under the forms of law in each place, to stir up those who have in their hands the reins of government to procure redress. The bishops of France, to whom this allocution was in the first place addressed, understood it well, and devoted themselves to a popular agitation, which only put a check upon the Ministry of that time shortly before their own overthrow, when there began that conflict of executive powers with one another under which France trembled in presence of itself. Over against the peaceful republic, which is a matter of

died at Weimar, 1832; has been well called 'the greatest name in German literature'.

¹ The title of the Prince-bishops of that country till the government became secularized under Danilo I in 1851.

² See p. 249.

necessity, the three claimants to the crown as by hereditary right¹—whichever of them attains to power—are conscious of an inclination or obligation, only arising in different ways, to re-establish the States of the Church by means of the overthrow and mastery of Italy, if they were not held back by the powerful member of the league, who has no choice but to be loyal to the cause of free and united Italy. So we also with divided heart would undertake a campaign which, not from design, and least of all as an outcome of Protestantism, would yet indirectly be against the Pope. But granted that the hopes of Italy were once more dashed, as this might occur through the jealousy of cities and races, after the first enthusiasm has evaporated, or through the lack of officials with clean hands, or through the popular want of regard for the law, or even as a consequence of a democratic upheaval through long-standing revolutionaries, and granted, too, that the old conditions, together with the States of the Church, were re-established, yet these would only be able to maintain themselves by means of a foreign occupation lasting for many years, which would crush all national life. Moreover, the return to the old national liberties of individual cities and provinces, if it were genuinely possible, would no longer satisfy the national cravings. For after the departure of the abhorred foreigners there would only be repeated the alternation between rebellion and temporary oppression. Hence probably, in spite of all the Jesuits' training, such resentment would be kindled against the Papacy that, on the occasion of a future outbreak, it would come to a far worse end than it is

¹ The representatives of the Napoleonic, the Legitimist, and the Orleans families.

now doing merely on its temporal side. Until 1849 it was conceivable that Italy, in fulfilment of the prediction of Gioberti¹, might arrive peacefully at an honourable, independent position as a league of independent States, with the Holy Father at the head. After what has taken place since then, Italy, through the collapse of its youthful kingdom, would most likely fall back for a long time into its old condition of cleavage and foreign domination, and its fall dismay the whole of Europe.

It had been resolved as early as 1868 by the Catholic general assembly that 'the protection of the Holy Father and the maintenance of his temporal power is the first and most sacred duty of Catholics'. This duty could now only be carried out by means of a war against Italy, and thus precisely by that means which Christ refused for *His* kingdom. Although Pius IX, even on his deathbed, sighed and hoped for the restoration of the temporal rule, yet an experience of many years has shown that, by the downfall of that rule, which had already long ceased to be co-extensive with the world, the Pope in respect to his peculiar spiritual power gained more than he lost. In saying this we cannot be supposed to be ironically commending to him a peaceful time for prayer and meditation upon eternity. But Italy under kingly rule, in the thoroughgoing accomplishment of Cavour's watchword, 'the free Church in a free State,' placed the clergy almost helpless in the hands of the Papacy, and surrendered to the Pope an almost defenceless side of the State. To the south of the Alps his word was powerful to excite as in the name of God popular risings against the authority of the State, to declare

¹ See p. 337.

State laws invalid, and to lay low by an invisible thunderbolt priests who were mindful of their country and ventured to obey its dictates. Up to this time he found no power which could restrain or punish this. In former time, one English or German ship of war sent to Cività Vecchia would probably have sufficed to reduce to order the Prince of the States of the Church. There is something in the expression which Thiers¹ formerly used, only with rhetorical exaggeration, that it is the States of the Church alone which hold the Pope in check; a monk who was Pope without the States of the Church would appear to him self-omnipotent. Father Curci² at last ventured to perceive this, and state it in the hearing of the Pope, that one might confidently let those temporal concerns go, and concentrate all one's strength upon the defence of the spiritual rule. Pius IX received the speech with pain, and was so indignant when it was afterwards made public, that to satisfy him the highly distinguished Jesuit, joint founder and joint proprietor of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, as well as one of its most esteemed writers, after refusing to make the retraction that was demanded, was compelled to accept his dismissal from the Order³. And yet it was open to him to appeal to Bellarmine⁴ himself, who regarded the secular possession merely as added by reason of temporal necessity, and to Cardinal Pacca⁵ as well, the

¹ Louis Adolphe Thiers, the distinguished French historian and statesman, first president of the present Republic, 1871-3; member of the French Academy from 1834; d. 1877.

² Carlo Maria Curci, a Roman Catholic theologian and writer on Church politics; d. 1891.

³ Subsequently, however, he recanted, and was restored to membership.

⁴ See p. 11.

⁵ Bartolommeo Pacca, a Roman politician, and author of various historical memoirs; d. 1844.

loyal servant of the Papacy for more than half a century. He might have gone still further and claimed St. Bernard¹, who in his celebrated meditation with regard to his illustrious scholar, Pope Eugenius III², comes to the prophetic conclusion: 'When ruling thou desirest the office of an Apostle, when an Apostle, that of a ruler. If thou desirest to have both together, thou shalt by losing both stand among those concerning whom our Lord complains thus: They rule, but not through Me; they are princes, but I know them not'³.

No doubt the secular glory of Catholicism has in some measure faded with the disappearance of the Pope's kingdom. No longer can Concordats be issued for international contracts; the alteration or abrogation of which a State on that side of the Alps was required to arrange not with itself, but with the Church of the country, and only with the episcopal head of that Church. Perhaps the bishops of the country, if the Pope is no longer a monarch, will more quickly remember that he is in essence their equal. Perhaps also many a Prince will no longer listen so devoutly to the voice of the Pope, if he no longer has to recognize in him a sovereign like himself, but really a higher one. So long as the Pope still refuses to accede to the guarantee law⁴ as a matter of treaty, the legislative authorities might easily take into consideration whether, as the result of experience gained, they should ever introduce modifications or explanations of it; e.g. whether the inviolable character of the Pope

¹ See p. 121.

² Pope 1145-53. It was chiefly through St. Bernard that the second Crusade (1147-9) took place in his reign.

³ Hos. viii. 4.

⁴ See p. 403.

extends to those who bear and execute his orders. Out of the night of an unknown future many thoughts of this sort may arise with regard to the position of a sovereign without his territorial possessions, whether the spirit of the Catholicism of the present day is powerful enough to maintain itself unshaken without having its centre clothed with a body which carries the attributes of a Prince. When one considers his tendency to externalism, his long historical development into a position of worldly splendour and political influence, the convulsive clinging to the last brilliant fragment of this secular position cannot surprise us. Moreover, the Pope was surrounded by persons whose dignity, power, and luxury were dependent upon his secular rule, however much this might be cut down. In them the personal is mingled with the ideal. He who desires to withdraw anything from the clergy has been looked upon as an enemy of God.

The archbishop of Paris said to the Council, while it was still debating the momentous resolution as to infallibility: 'Such a resolution will inevitably weaken the influence of religion upon the community, and, without our being able to interpose any check, will bring about the collapse of the temporal authority of the Holy See.' After regarding on every side the significance of the States of the Church we are able to see in their irrevocable dissolution no signal of death for the Papacy, and while this event doubtless succeeded as the upshot of a long period of misgovernment, which misjudged the needs of the time, and yet followed immediately upon the national exaltation of Italy, as being the necessary victim of that exaltation; yet there is no such intimate connexion between the political changes and the new dogma

as to lead us to say that it is not merely a pious but a justifiable view to regard the loss of the territory as a punishment from God for the assumption of infallibility. Nevertheless, there lies something momentous in this speedy, almost immediate succession of events, that the temporal splendour of the Papacy, which had long dazzled the nations, was extinguished at the same time at which its spiritual pretensions had reached their acutest point. Henceforward, therefore, the Papacy has to give itself out as infallible before nations who, the higher their general standard of education rises, can yield it so much the less of credence. The Papacy in this way approaches in some measure to that shape in which fervid Reformation Protestantism saw the fulfilment of the Apostle's expectation of Antichrist who sits in the Temple of God and permits himself to be adored as God¹. From this juxtaposition of the enthroned Pope-king and the infallible Pope there certainly rises something like a cadaverous odour, and the question presents itself whether such a Papacy has still a future?

It would be indiscreet to venture a prediction as to the outcome of a state of things which has arisen, incidentally indeed as far as our point of view is concerned, yet with a certain historical necessity. We possess an ancient prediction as to future Popes which sketches each of them in a few words with a kind of individual touch in every case. It dates ostensibly from the time of St. Bernard, as composed by a friend

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 3. Luther and other prominent Reformers of his day were convinced that the Pope was the 'Man of sin' here foretold. His protest, inaugurating the German Reformation, was 'against the execrable Bull of Antichrist.' The belief was made a formal dogma of the Lutheran Church by the Articles of Smalcald.

of his, archbishop Malachy of Armagh¹. It was in reality not composed till the last decade of the sixteenth century, for down to that date the descriptions, though for the most part dull, are very applicable, while from that time on they are only rarely and casually so. An instance of this last is when Pius VI² is described as 'the apostolic wayfarer'; he twice made his way across the Alps, as a petitioner to Joseph II at Vienna³, and as a prisoner to France. On the other hand, in the case of his successor, Pius VII⁴, the description, 'the rapacious eagle', is by no means applicable. Rather one might say that he was in danger of being torn by such a bird. Poor Pio Nono, for whose last breath the devotion hitherto paid him is now watching,—'The Cross from the Cross', these are words applicable to him; he certainly has had much of the Cross to bear, and the expression 'from the Cross' may not unfitly refer to the Cross in the arms of Savoy and Piedmont. According to this prediction—and this is its most characteristic feature, its gaze into a future far from the time of its own origin and still hidden from our view—we have yet to expect eleven Popes. The *Petrus Romanus* will shepherd the Church of Rome in a time of severe persecution, the city of seven hills shall be destroyed, and the dread Judge shall judge His people. Thus the end of the Papacy will synchronize with the Last Day. This will perhaps hardly coincide so precisely. If the church of St. Peter's has not unfitly been called the visible symbol of the Rock of Peter, the cracks in its lofty cupola belong to it as well, around which on this account there were placed as long since as the

¹ St. Malachy was papal legate in Ireland; d. 1148.

² See p. 359. ³ German emperor; d. 1790.

⁴ See p. 118.

last century iron hoops. Perhaps still more fitly might the Rock of Peter be compared to the literal rock of Heligoland,¹ which at one time *was* also a *holy land*, a lofty place of worship and of civilization. The mainland and the islands around it are already being gradually swallowed up by the sea. The surges often fling themselves boisterously upon the ancient rock, and have already crumbled away or undermined numerous fragments. It may yet last for many a hundred years before the flood has eaten away the mighty cliff, and roars in solitude above its site. Nevertheless the great promise holds good to the letter for the Papacy. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it, but—the high tide of freedom and purer religious training.

¹ An island in the North Sea, ceded by Great Britain to Germany in 1890.

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